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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

Matric from BOSE, Jammu and Adeeb from AMU. Has been awarded Honorary Professor by School of Liberal Art & Languages, Shobhit University, Gangoh, Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.

Director General, Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation nominated him as his nominee in the Committee for purchasing of Books for UT Jammu & Kashmir. Incharge of Nanaji Deshmukh Library & Documentation Department at BJP state HQ in J&K.

Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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Human Rights and Social Justice 17-18 Feb 1996 Faculty of Law,
(Donated by Dr. Vidya Bhushan)

Jammu & Kashmir Government Gazette dated 1st May 1951

Women Awareness Empowerment: The Need of the Hour

Text of 1984 Republican Party Platform (23/09/2017)

Emergence of the Lesbian and Rights Movements and their

Political Involvement in the State.



HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

17-18-FEB-1996
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The state of Jammu and Kashmir, like that of India, is not homogenous but heterogeneous in nature. One may observe here a pluralistic nature of society. It has, therefore, not only led to the growth and display of fragmented political cultures, sharpening of regional identities, absence of a well disciplined inter-regional and inter-communal political party, but has also left a deep impact on the nature of State party system as well as its party politics.

The political parties in the State viz autonomists, nationalists, integrationists, rightists and leftists too have experienced politics periodic splits.



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However, the formation of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference was the culmination of the efforts of some of the top but progressive leaders of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference to take the sting off the criticism levelled at Muslim communalists by secularising Kashmir policies and making their struggle for the establishment of responsible govt. in the State more effective and meaningful.

The secular and progressive policies and programme of the newly formed the All JK National Conference and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's open alignment with Congress leadership, particularly with pt. Nehru, alarmed and sapped the hardcore conservative elements headed by Chaudhary Ghulam



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Ahass - a prominent leader of the National Conference from Jammu, who was ideologically gravitated towards Muslim League and believed in ^{its} two-nation Theory and demand for creation of Pakistan - a separate independent Islamic state. Thus, the conservative elements, ^{in the party}, mostly comprising of the Punjabi speaking Muslim of Jammu in ^{the party} not only supported Ch. Ghulam Ahass, but also continued their trade against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. An open rift between the conservative andbachchawali element of Jammu and secular and progressive element of the valley emerged in the party because of open breach of an agreement by the top Kashmiri leadership for the rotation of the President of the Party between leaders of both the regions - Jammu & Kashmir.



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annually. All this prompted Ch. Ghulam Ali to make an appeal for open revolt to the Muslim masses of the state in general and that of Jammu in particular to unite in support of the struggle for a separate Muslim nation state launched by the Muslim League of M.A Jinnah. The scene was, therefore, complicated enough to elicit - the split in the All J&K National Conference. Ch. Ghulam Ali along with his other supporters particularly from Jammu left the All J&K National Conference and revived the Muslim Conference on 13th March, 1941. The split was as much ideological as cultural and was on regional lines.

Immediately after the Out Kashmir Movement launched by the All J&K National Conference in May 1946, a judicial inquiry was being



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in the party and it was revolved around the four heroes of the movement viz G.M.D. Kasra, G.M. Bakshi, G.M. Sadig and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The climax came in March 1948 when GMD Kasra, the most prominent hero of the movement and who had emerged next to Sheikh Abdullah - was not inducted into first Sheikh Abdullah's popular ministry. By believing that those who were with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were not with him and those who were with Sheikh Mohd Abdullah were in the govt, GMD Kasra developed a hostile attitude against all the then leaders of the party and finally left the party ^{by the end of} in 1949 along with his supports and ultimately organised a new party - Kashmir Political Conference in June, 1953.



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There emerged a conflict between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the central leadership over the centre - kashmir constitutional relationship as early as 1948. With the passage of time these political conflicts were aggravated and taken a serious turn. The politics of conflict gathered deepened when Sheikh Abdullah asserted the Kashmiri sub-nationalism. The situation reached the point of no return because of subsequent speeches made by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah at Hazratbal and other places in the valley condemning central interference in Kashmir affairs. The climax of the tragic drama came on 8th August, 1953 when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah's ministry was dismissed and he was arrested along with M.S. M.A. Beg and ~~that~~ thirty three other leaders of the national conference were arrested on 11th August 1953.



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7

7

The split in All J&K National Conference took place ~~and~~ second time since independence when Mr. M.A. Beg along with six members of State legislature and one member of Parliament from the state left the party and founded the All J&K plebiscite Front on August 9, 1955 under ~~his~~^{his} ~~presidencyship~~ of Dr. H. Hamadani as Secretary.

A notable rift ~~once again~~ ^{emerged} occurred in the ranks of the National Conference once again in 1957 when left wing faction of the party, led by G.M. Siddiq having grievances against the authoritarianism, anti-democratic, ^{and corrupt} practices and favouritism of the ruling coalition of Dr. M. Bakshi, condemned the methods of nomination of the party candidates for the state assembly elections of 1957. The leaders with leftist leaning



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stressed that all the persistent and sustained efforts to resolve the contradictions within the party failed due to the refusal of G.M. Balashri, who had dominated and monopolised all power and acting in violation of all the agreed decision and policies, to give up his authoritarian method. Moreover, the G.M. Sadiq group was even denied its due share in the newly constituted cabinet after 1957 assembly elections. There was also the mutual distrust and dissatisfaction between the two factions reached a climax over the nomination of Mr. G.R. Benzer for the Legislative Council by the Sadiq faction much against the wishes of G.M. Balashri.

Thus, the line of cleavage dividing the two wings of the party became permanent and resulted in a split an other party split in the party along with five other



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9

members resigned from the executive of the party on 6th August 1957 and formed a new party Democratic National Conference. Eleven MLAs two MLCs also joined the newly formed party.

The rift between Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah - chief minister and his confident and principal adviser and a member of his cabinet Ms. M.A. Beg was surfaced after bi annual election to Legislative Council in 1978. Misra Afzal Beg sponsored the candidature of his son-in-law Mr. Yakub Beg for the state Legislative Council and campaigned to win his favour. In the party, the party also decided to support him and the party whip was issued accordingly. But the



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10

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voting pattern revealed that there had been gross violation of the discipline by some of the members of the party. Mr. Yaqub Beg had managed to pull 31 preference votes in his favour despite of the party directive to its members that only 13 preferential votes should be cast in his favour. Mr. M. A. Beg said to have induced the other members of the party whose votes were actually assigned to other candidates. He also approach ~~the~~ ^{former} Mufti - Mohd Sayeed, the then state congress chief, to manage thirteen votes of the congress party MLAs in the favour of his son-in-law.

All this created suspicion in the mind of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah about Mr. M. A. Beg's sincerity and honesty. Sheikh Mohammad



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, therefore, directed the members of the ruling party to take an oath of personal loyalty and allegiance to the party leader. such a move was opposed by M. A. Beg by stressing that loyalty to a leader would be undemocratic to the party policy and programme was all right but loyalty to a leader would be undemocratic. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, therefore relieved him of the post of Cabinet Minister. Mr. M. A. Beg, on the other hand, claimed that he still enjoyed the support of fifteen party MLAs and announced that he would demonstrate his strength in the Assembly. As a result of such a party in discipline, the working committee of the Party expelled Mr. M. A. Beg and ~~the primary~~.



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17-18-FEB. 1996

12

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membership of the party. Mr. M.A. Beg along with a few of his other supporters organised a new party namely Jignababi National Conference on 9th Nov. 1978. ~~P.T.O.~~

After stormy and eventful life, Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah passed away on Sept 8, 1982. As desired by him during his ~~not~~ prolonged

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13

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134

77

illness, Dr. Farooq Abdullah,⁹³ his eldest son, was sworn as the new Chief Minister immediately after his death ignoring Mr. G.M. Shah,⁹⁴ his son-in-law, the senior most member of his party, and thus his natural successor. Mr. G.M. Shah felt cheated and outraged when willy old Sher-i-Kashmir, outsmarted and out-maneuvred him for his son and even delcaring him his successor from his death bed. He, therefore, angrily pointed out that in the familial pattern of familial politics, Son-in-laws were not, and could not be treated on the same footing as blood relations and that when pitted against a favourite son, they were bound to be treated as "out-laws".⁹⁵

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93. The Times of India; August 24, 1982. ""Dr. Farooq Abdullah after passing M.B.B.S. examination from Jaipur Medical College served for a few years in the State Health Department. After 1975 Accord, he was appointed as the Director of Sher-i-Kashmir Medical Institute. Because of his advantageous position in the state politics, he was elected to the Lok Sabha. Again because of his advantage, he was made President of the National Conference and then inducted as the Health Minister in the state Cabinet on 23rd of August, 1982."
94. Life Sketch of G.M. Shah, Published by the Directorate of Information, Jammu & Kashmir Government, Srinagar 1984, pp.1-2. Mr. G.M. Shah, took part in Quit Kashmir Movement launched by Sheikh Abdullah. He then worked as General Secretary of the Plebiscite Front for two terms, functioned as member of the Steering Committee of the State People's Convention, had edited 'Kashmir Conspiracy case', served as Minister in the Sheikh's Cabinet after 1975 Accord and after 1977 Assembly Elections. He then resigned from the Sheikh Cabinet in 1982 on his being ignored by the latter as his natural successor."
95. The Shah of Kashmir- A special report published in the Times of India, July 19, 1984.

one may conclude by saying that despite the occasional splits within the All J&K National Conference - The grand old party of freedom movement and the party of maximum autonomy for the State afterwards - it has always been remarkably successful in consolidating its position as a single dominant party in the state. Splits within the party were not allowed to go beyond a point where the party could permanently be denaged. Moreover, whereas ideological, cultural and regional factors had been mostly responsible for causing splits in the All J&K National Conference in pre-independence era, the personal ambitions, clash of personality, lust for power, factional infighting in addition to ideological differences have been the major factors promoting splits in the party in post-independence era.

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POLITICS OF SPLITS IN THE ALL JAMMU AND KASHMIR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The State of Jammu and Kashmir, like that of India, is not homogenous but heterogenous in nature. One may observe here a pluralistic nature of society. It has, therefore, not only led to the growth and display of fragmented political cultures, sharpening of regional identities, absence of a well disciplined inter-regional and inter-communal-political party, but has also left a deep impact on the nature of state party system as well as its party politics. The political parties in the state viz. autonomists, nationalists, integrationists, religious rightists and leftists too have experienced periodic splits.

However, the formation of the All Jammu And Kashmir National Conference was the culmination of the efforts of some of the top but progressive leaders of the All Jammu And Kashmir Muslim Conference to take the sting off the criticism levelled as Muslim Communalist by secularising Kashmir politics and making their struggle for the establishment of responsible govt., in the state more effective and meaningful.

The secular and progressive politics and programme of the newly formed the All Jammu And Kashmir National Conference and Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah's open alignment with Congress leadership, particularly with Pt. Nehru, alarmed and sapped the hardcore conservative elements headed by Chaudhary Ghulam Abass - a prominent leader of the National Conference from Jammu, who was ideologically

gravitated towards Muslim League and believed in its two-Nation theory and demand for creation of Pakistan — a separate independent Islamic state. Thus, the conservative elements, mostly comprising of the Punjabi speaking Muslim of Jammu in the party not only supported Ch. Ghulam Abass, but also continued their tirade against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. An open rift between the conservative and reactionary element of Jammu and secular and progressive element of the Valley emerged in the party because of open breach of an agreement by the top Kashmiri leadership for the rotation of the President of the party between leaders of both the regions — Jammu and Kashmir annually. All this prompted Ch. Ghulam Abass to make an appeal for open revolt to the Muslim masses of the state in general and that of Jammu in particular to unite in support of the struggle launched by the Muslim League of M.A. Jinnah. The scene was, therefore, complicated enough to ~~mix~~ dixam — the split in the All J&K National Conference. Ch. Ghulam Abass along with his other supporters particularly from Jammu left the All J&K National Conference and revived the Muslim Conference on 13th March 1941. The split was as much ideological as cultural and was on regional lines.

Immediately after the Quit Kashmir Movement was launched by the All J&K National Conference in May 1946, a fact infight was brewing in the party and it was revolved around the four heroes of the movement viz. G.M.D. Karra, G.J. Bakashi, G.M. Sadiq and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The climax came in March 1948 when G.M.D. Karra, the most prominent hero of the movement and who had emerged to Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah — was not inducted into ~~the~~ 1955, 1955 Sheikhs Abdullah's popular ministry. By believing

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those who were with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were not with him and those who were with Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah were in the Government. G.M.D. Karra developed a hostile attitude against all the then leaders of the party and finally left the party by the end of 1949 along with his supports and ultimately organised a new party - Kashmir Political Conference in June, 1953.

There emerged a conflict between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the central leadership over the centre-Kashmir constitutional relationship as early as 1948. With the passage of time these political conflicts were aggravated. The politics of conflict further deepened when Sheikh Abdullah asserted the Kashmiri sub-nationalism. The situation reached the point of no return because of subsequent speeches made by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah at Hazaratbal and other places in the Valley, condemning central interference in Kashmir affairs. The climax of the tragic drama came on 8th August, 1953 when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah's ministry was dismissed and he was along with Mr. M.A. Beg and thirty three ~~leaders~~ other leaders of the National Conference was arrested on 9th August, 1953.

The split in All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference took place second time since independence when Mr. M.A. Beg alongwith six members of State legislature and one member of Parliament from the State left the party and founded the All J&K Plebiscite Front on August 9, 1955 under his Presidentship and G.H. Hamadani as Secretary.

A notable rift emerged in the ranks of the National Conference once again in 1957 when left wing faction ~~were~~ of the Party, led by G.M. Sadiq having grievances against the authoritarianism, anti-democratic, corrupt practices and favouritism of the ruling coterie of G.M. Bakhshi, condemned the methods of nomination of the party candidates for the State assembly elections of 1957. The leaders with leftist leaning stressed that all the persistent and sustained efforts to resolve the contradictions within the party failed due to the refusal of G.M. Bakhshi, who had dominated and monopolised the power and acting in violation of all the agreed decision and policies, to give up his authoritarian method. Moreover, the G.M. Sadiq group was even denied its due share in the newly constituted Cabinet after 1957 Assembly Elections. The Mutual distress and dissatisfaction between the two factions reached a climax over the nomination of Mr. G.R. Ranju for the Legislative Council by the Sadiq faction much against the wishes of G.M. Bakhshi.

Thus, the line of cleavage dividing the two wings of the party became permanent and resulted in another split in the party. G.M. Sadiq, along with five other members resigned from the executive of the party on 6th August, 1957 and formed a new party Democratic National Conference. Eleven MLAs, w two M.L.Cs ~~were~~ joined the newly formed party.

The rift between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chief Minister and his confident and principal advisors and a number of his Cabinet ranks. Mr. M.A. Beg was surfaced after biannual election to Legislative Council in 1978. Mirza Afzal Beg sponsored the candidature of his son-in-law Mr. Yakub Beg for the State Legislative Council and campaigned in his favour. The party also decided to support him and the party whip was issued accordingly. But the voting pattern revealed that there had been gross violation of the discipline by some of the members of the Party. Mr. Yakub Beg had managed to poll 31 preference votes in his favour despite of the Party directive to its members that only 13 preferential votes should be cast in his favour. Mr. M.A. Beg said to have induced the other members of the party whose votes were actually assigned to other candidates. He also approached Mufti-Mohd. Sayeed, the then state Congress chief, to manage thirteen votes of the Congress party MLAs in favour of his son-in-law.

All this created suspicion in the mind of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah about Mr. M.A. Beg and his supports, sincerity and honesty. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, therefore, directed the members of the ruling party to take an oath of personal loyalty and allegiance to the party and programme was all right but loyalty to a leader would be undemocratic. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, therefore, relieved him of the post of Cabinet Minister. Mr. M.A. Beg, on the other hand, claimed that he still enjoyed

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After stormy and eventful life, Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah ~~passed~~ passed away on September 08, 1982. As desired by him during his prolonged illness, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, his eldest son, was sworn as the new Chief Minister immediately after his death ignoring Mr. G.M. Shah, his son-in-law, the senior most member of his party, and thus his natural successor. Mr. G.M. Shah felt cheated and outraged when willy old Sher-i-Kashmir, outsmarted and outmanoeuvred him for son and even declaring him his successor from his death bed.

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A notable rift emerged in the ranks of the National Conference once again in 1957 when left wing faction ~~and~~ of the Party, led by G.M. Sadiq having grievances against the authoritarianism, anti-democratic, corrupt practices and favouritism of the ruling coterie of G.M. Bakhashi, condemned the methods of nomination of the party candidates for the State assembly elections of 1957. The leaders with leftist leaning stressed that all the persistent and sustained efforts to resolve the contradictions within the party failed due to the refusal of G.M. Bakhashi, who had dominated and monopolised the power and acting in violation of all the agreed decision and policies, to give up his authoritarian method. Moreover, the G.M. Sadiq group was even denied its due share in the newly constituted Cabinet after 1957 Assembly Elections. The mutual distress and dissatisfaction between the two factions reached a climax over the nomination of Mr. G.R. Ranju for the Legislative Council by the Sadiq faction much against the wishes of G.M. Bakhashi.

Thus, the line of cleavage dividing the two wings of the party became permanent and resulted in another split in the party. G.M. Sadiq, along with five other members resigned from the executive of the party on 6th August, 1957 and formed a new party Democratic National Conference. Eleven MLAs, two M.L.Cs and joined the newly formed party.

The rift between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chief Minister and his confident and principal advisors and a number of his Cabinet ranks. Mr. M.A. Beg was surfaced after biannual election to Legislative Council in 1978. Mirza Afzal Beg sponsored the candidature of his son-in-law Mr. Yakub Beg for the State Legislative Council and campaigned in his favour. The party also decided to support him and the party whip was issued accordingly. But the voting pattern revealed that there had been gross violation of the discipline by some of the members of the Party. Mr. Yakub Beg had managed to poll 31 preference votes in his favour despite of the Party directive to its members that only 13 preferential votes should be cast in his favour. Mr. M.A. Beg said to have induced the other members of the party whose votes were actually assigned to other candidates. He also approached Mufti-Mohd. Sayeed, the then state Congress chief, to manage thirteen votes of the Congress party MLAs in favour of his son-in-law.

All this created suspicion in the mind of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah about Mr. M.A. Beg and his supports, sincerity and honesty. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, therefore, directed the members of the ruling party to take an oath of personal loyalty and allegiance to the party and programme was all right but loyalty to a leader would be undemocratic. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, therefore, relieved him of the post of Cabinet Minister. Mr. A. Beg, on the other hand, claimed that he still enjoyed

support of fifteen party MLAs and announced that he would demonstrate his strength in the Assembly. As a result of such party indiscipline, the Working Committee of the Party expelled Mr. M.A. Beg and his son-in-law from the primary membership of the party. Mr. M.A. Beg along with a few of his other supporters organised a new party namely Inquilabi National Conference on 9th November, 1978.

After stormy and eventful life, Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Nohd. Abdullah passed away on September 03, 1982. As desired by him during his prolonged illness, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, his eldest son, was sworn as the new Chief Minister immediately after his death ignoring Mr. G.M. Shah, his son-in-law, the senior most member of his party, and thus his natural successor. Mr. G.M. Shah felt cheated and outraged when wily old Sher-i-Kashmir, outsmarted and outmanoeuvred him for son and even declaring him his successor from his death bed.

One may conclude by saying that despite the occasional splits within the All J&K National Conference, the grand old party of freedom movement and the party of maximum autonomy for the State afterwards - it has always been remarkably successful in consolidating its position as a single dominant party in the State. Splits within the party ~~were~~ were not allowed to go beyond a point where the party could permanently be damaged. Moreover, whereas ideological, cultural and regional factors had been mostly responsible for causing splits

in the All J&K National Conference in pre-independence era, the personal ambitions, clash of personality, lust for power, factional infighting in addition to ideological differences have been the major factors promoting splits in the party in Post-Independence era.

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29. Ibid., May, 24, 1984.
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Voicing the feelings of his Master, Sheikh Abdullah, a challenge was given in the Indian Parliament by Mr. Shiv Narayan Patodar that Opposition party in Jammu has no following in Jammu and knowing their weakness they boycotted the elections to the State Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Shiv Narayan knows it fully well that when he stood to contest the Elections in this very Assembly how he was treated and forced to withdraw. It was not the weakness of their strength but the deliberate high handedness of the Hashmir Government against which the Jammu observed Province wide martial and demonstrations and finding even the then Hon'ble Minister for State Affairs helpless that compelled the Praja Parishad to boycott the elections.

The strength of the Opposition Party is clear from the fact that not a single independent candidate stood to contest the elections in the Jammu Province.

Opposition

The ~~Opposition~~ Party further made a most democratic demand of State Representatives to the Indian Parliament by election like other States but it was suppressed with a ruthless terror with the help of Military and Police. The representatives were sent by nomination Constituent Assembly which itself is not a representative body. The voice of the people is gagged both in the Constituent Assembly and the Parliament.

If the National Conference has really the strength of the mass behind it, why elections to Jammu Municipality are being postponed time over again, even though the lists of voters were prepared two years ago. Last elections to this Municipality took place 13 years back and irrespective of repeated demands and preparation of Electoral Rolls at a great cost, are being withheld simply because the Party-in-power is fully aware that Opposition Party will sweep the polls and it would expose the hollowness of the claim of the National Conference to represent the whole of the State. If Sheikh Abdullah and his cronies in the Indian Parliament have really the courage of conviction, I would challenge them to prove their representative character by holding Municipal Elections at once and dissolve thereby the present out-dated Municipal Committee.

drove

Durgadas Varma,
(Durgadas Varma)
General Secretary,
472 Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

Copy of the above statement forwarded to the *Editor organiser*
for favour of publication

R N Bhagat
Publicity Secretary
472 Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

Instrument of Accession of Jammu & Kashmir State.

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August '47, there shall be set up an independent dominion known as India, and that the Govt. of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India.

And whereas the Govt. of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor General provides that an India State may accede by the Dominion of by an instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof:/

NOW THEREFORE

I Shriman Indar Mahendar Rajrajeswar Maharaj Adhiraj Shri Harisingh Ji Jammu Kashmir Naresh tath Tibbet ade deshadhepati Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State in exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State I hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and :-

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and other Dominion authority established for the purpose of the Dominion shall, by virtue of my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purpose only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functioning as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August, 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as the 'Act').

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that the effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for the State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance of that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which supplies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State or save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of my powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October, Nineteen Hundred and forty seven
Sd. Harisingh,

Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir State.

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession. Dated this twenty-seventh day of October, Nineteen hundred and forty seven .

Sd. Mount Batten of Burma.

Governor General of India.

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas it is the general desire of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir that a Constituent Assembly should be brought into being for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the State;

Whereas it is commonly felt that the convening of this Assembly can no longer be delayed without detriment to the future well being of the State;

And whereas the terms of the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja dated the 5th March 1948 in regard to the convening of the National Assembly as contained in clauses 4 to 6 of the operative part thereof do no meet the requirements of the present situation;

I, Yuvraj Karan Singh, do hereby direct as follows : -

1. A Constituent Assembly, consisting of representatives of the people elected on the basis of adult franchise shall be constituted for the purpose of framing a constitution for the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. For the purpose of the said elections, the State shall be divided into a number of territorial constituencies each containing a population of 40,000 or as nearly thereto as possible and each electing one member. A Delimitation Committee shall be set up by the Govt. to make recommendations as to the number of constituencies and the limits of each constituency.

3. The elections to the Constituent Assembly shall be on the basis of adult franchise; that is to say every person who

(a) is a State subject of any class as defined in the Notification No. I-L/94 dated Jammu the 18th April, 1927,

b) is not less than 21 years of age on the 1st day of March 1951, and
c) has been resident in the constituency for such period as may be prescribed by rules,

shall be entitled to be registered as a voter in the electoral rolls for that constituency.

Provided that any person who is of unsound mind and has been so declared by a competent court shall be disqualified for such registration.

4. The voting at the elections shall be direct and by secret ballot.

5. The Constituent Assembly shall have power to act notwithstanding any vacancy in the membership thereof.

6. The Const. Assembly shall frame its own agenda and make rules for regulating its procedure and the conduct of its business.

7. The Government shall make such rules, and issue such instructions or orders, as may be necessary to give effect to the terms of this Proclamation.

8. All things done and all steps taken before the issue of this Proclamation with a view to facilitating the provisional preparation of electoral rolls for the purpose of elections to the Constituent Assembly shall in so far as they are in conformity with the provisions of this Proclamation, be deemed to have been done or taken under this Proclamation as if it was in force at the time such things were done or such steps were taken.

20th April, 1951.

Sd. Karansingh,
YUVRAJ.

Seventh All-India Local Bodies Conference

WELCOME ADDRESS

By
Dr. Yudhvir Singh, Chairman Reception Committee

Brother Delegates,

The delightful spectacle of the noble assemblage of delegates from all parts of India—from the Punjab to far-off Assam and from Uttar Pradesh to the southern-most corner of India—fills me and the members of the Reception Committee with boundless joy. Words fail me to express adequately the feelings of joy and gratitude on this happy occasion.

The idea of holding such a Conference sprang up as far back as July, 1949—about a year and a half ago. When it appeared in the papers, it brought forth encouraging response in the form of letters. A little while after this I had the good fortune to meet Shri Sidhwa, who informed me that there was a proposal to hold such a Conference in Bombay. So we decided to join the proposed Bombay Conference and abandoned the idea of calling one here in Delhi. Then Shri Sidhwa went abroad. On his return he informed us that the hope of having a conference in Bombay was not materialized. So we started making preparations for this Conference in which you see today assembled a large number of worthy delegates, from each and every State of free Bharat.

The present session has been preceded by six such conferences, but that was when we had not shaken off the manacles of slavery. This Conference is unique in one respect viz., that it is the first in the history of free India. In the past the delegates numbered hardly 300. Basing our calculation on this figure, we presumed liberally that this time the number would be at the most doubled. But we were agreeably surprised when we received 800 acceptances last month. This necessitated change in the arrangements already planned. When the new arrangements were in progress the office informed me that the number was on the increase and had reached the figure of 1,000. On this, when we started elaborating the arrangements still further, we learnt that acceptances from 1,500 delegates have been received. Shri Sidhwa was then in New Zealand. An emergent meeting of the Reception Committee was called to devise means to cope with the new situation. Fortunately Shri Barfiwalla, the Director of Bombay Local Self-Government Institute, was present in Delhi and he very ably attended the meeting. Under his able advice, we completely changed the previously planned boarding and lodging arrangements for the delegates. Under these circumstances it is likely that in spite of our best efforts, the arrangements may not be as we wished them to be nor be worthy of the distinguished guests. I would therefore crave your indulgence in the matter. I would request the delegates to forgive us for any inconvenience caused to them during their stay here. The spirit behind our activities is imbued with sincerity and love and our desire for service, and that is what really matters.

Honoured Guests,

I feel great pleasure and consider it a proud privilege to extend to you on behalf of the Reception Committee the welcome to this ancient city. It is our great good fortune that we have been afforded this opportunity to welcome such worthy and honourable guests.

Delhi is a very ancient city. It dates back to the time of Mahabharata. It was the capital city of the Huns, Guptas, Pathans, Moghuls and the British. But the present city of Delhi, where we are gathered here to-day, was established exactly three hundred years ago in 1650 by the Emperor Shah Jehan, the well-known lover of art, who raised such magnificent buildings as the Red Fort and the Jama Masjid. During the short space of three hundred years, the city has witnessed many vicissitudes of fortune. It was here that the Mughal Empire rose to its zenith of glory and it was here also that it had its decay and decline.

The town epitomizes history. But the most eventful period of its history starts from 1857 when this city became the arena for the first war of Indian Independence. It is true that victory was not achieved then, but the many sacrifices that were made are commendable. Heads of patriots were severed from the body and were dangled from the branches of trees in Chandni Chowk. The city was bathed in blood by a general massacre. History again repeated itself in 1913, when patriotism was put on the scaffold once more, as a sequel to an attempt by bomb outrage on the life of the then Governor-General. Again in 1919 when Mahatma Gandhi launched agitation against the unjust Rowlett Act, even young children sacrificed their lives playing with the machine-guns. It is due to the sacrifices of the citizens of Delhi, during the years 1920-21, 1930-32 and 1942, that had made the country free, and that the citizens of this great metropolis can raise their heads with just pride.

Again it is because of these sacrifices that Delhi today occupies the enviable position of being the Capital of the great Indian Union—an empire which in oneness of sovereignty and the vastness of dominion stands without a parallel in the annals of India.

Meeting as we are today in this Conference for the first time after Independence we will have the opportunity to consider problems relating to local self-government and other allied subjects. The advent of freedom has brought additional responsibilities to Local Bodies. Formerly they served as hand maids to the executives of the foreign Government and they were so constituted that they could not do anything which militated against the interests of the masters. That constitution suited admirably the conditions which prevailed then, and the ends which it was meant to serve. Now after four years of Independence and the codification of our new constitution, we have to pause and consider whether we should meekly submit to the old Constitution, in which we were made to play second fiddle and dance to the tune of Deputy Commissioners, Collectors, Commissioners etc., or that we should recast it totally in such a way as to make the Local Bodies really "self-governing units" in the true sense of the word. I would even go so far as to suggest that under the new constitution the Local Bodies should have the fullest scope of action and complete freedom even to err because without the latter the sense of responsibility cannot develop.

You will bestow your consideration on the financial and other inter-related problems, which all Local Bodies have to face alike, whether they be Village Panchayats, District Boards, small Municipal Committees or big Corporations.

The partition of the country has created another formidable problem viz. housing our displaced brethren, particularly in big cities, where in a house meant for 10, we have to squeeze 50 persons into it. In my humble opinion its solution should have first and foremost claim on your attention. Close upon its heels comes another—the beggar nuisance. In every city or town these homeless destitutes are found in thousands. It will therefore be necessary for us to find out ways and means to wean them from the habit of begging and put them to some productive work, by which they can earn their keep.

The major functions of Local Bodies are confined to the following activities:—Health, Sanitation, Primary Education, Roads, Lighting, Water, Pure Food, Local Transport etc. It is my considered opinion that the development of the physical, moral and social education falls within the ambit of the Local Bodies in an Independent India. Therefore the entire responsibility for the Adult, Social, Civic and Physical Education

We are to consider how far we can successfully tackle these problems. To my mind there is just one thing—"Self-service" which can provide key to the solution of all these problems. If we pledge ourselves to selfless service to the cause, you will agree with me, that the Local Bodies will provide an extensive field and numerous opportunities for the purpose. In Parliaments or Councils you can prove your usefulness to the Nation in the limited sphere of legislative work alone, but it is here in the Local Bodies that you can render true service to your countrymen.

It is therefore necessary for us to take the pledge of rendering "selfless service" to the people. The revered Father of the Nation once replied in the following terms to an Address of Welcome presented by a Local Body:—

"It is a rare privilege for a person to find himself in the position of a Municipal Councillor, but let me note down for you as man of some experience in public life that one indispensable condition of that privilege is that Municipal Councillors dare not approach their office from interested or selfish motives. They must approach their sacred task in a spirit of service."

The advice given by the Father of the Nation must seriously be taken note of by those of us who are or who aspire to the position of a member of a Local Body, "Service" or "Selfless service" should be our ideal or motto.

The portals of a Local Body should be closed against all self-seekers, who cringe for membership.

I have no hesitation in admitting that until now many persons sought seats with a view to gain diverse ends. Municipal Commissionership was considered to be a ladder of approach to the high officials and a royal road to obtain titles. Times have since changed. We shall have to follow the path shown to us by the Father of the Nation,

I have an apprehension in regard to one other issue. It is the problem of election. Hitherto thousands of rupees have been expended on contesting Municipal elections. Very few had the good fortune to be returned unopposed. Even the Congress candidates had to spend a lot of money. Now with the introduction of Adult franchise throughout the country, the number of contests is bound to increase enormously in every ward. Elections will be contested and fought very keenly. The apathy of the masses is another handicap. Our standard of conduct has also gone a little lower. I therefore apprehend that the fighting of elections would be anything but fair. Gold would win the vote and not selfless service. This is a very delicate issue which calls for a solution.

Many persons think that the elections are held at rather brief intervals with the results that the idea of election always hovers over the heads of the Members of Local Bodies which somewhat hampers them in the discharge of their duties.

All of you, who have gathered here today, will have to consider these points and I hope that you will arrive at proper decisions which will guide us and give us strength to serve usefully the people of this new-born independent nation in making them ideal citizens.

Others

We are fortunate in having Shri R. K. Sidhwā the ex-Mayor of Karachi Corporation as the President of this Conference to guide us in our deliberations. Shri Sidhwā's great talents and his wide experience and vast knowledge of Local Administration need no eulogistic introduction from me. He had been a member of the Karachi Corporation for a long period of 27 years and served it in various capacities. From time to time he had been a member of the Provincial and Central Legislative Assemblies and was a member of the Constituent Assembly as well. Even today he is a member of our First Independent Parliament. His vast knowledge of the affairs of foreign countries would be especially beneficial to us. In fact the inception of this Conference is due to his initiative and guidance.

Besides this, the good wishes and blessings of the Hon'ble Rajkumari Amrit Kaur are with us. Without her patronage, this Conference might not have come into being. Ever since she became the Minister of Health, Government of India, she has been trying to improve and develop the administration of Local Bodies. She seized the earliest opportunity to convene a conference of the Ministers of Local Self-Government in Delhi on 6th and 7th August, 1948. It was the first conference of its kind. Prior to that no conference connected with Local Administration was ever called by the Government of India. While inaugurating the Conference Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said:—

"Local Self-Government is and must be the basis of any true system of democracy. We have got rather into the habit of thinking of democracy at the top and not so much below. Democracy at the top may not be a success unless you build on this foundation from below. Take the field of education. Democracy will not be much of a success unless there is mass education in the country, because an un-educated populace, I use the word un-educated in preference to illiterate, is no foundation for democracy. The people must understand the problems to some extent before they can express their views. Therefore education is essential. Local Self-Government is also essential."

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was herself the President of that Conference. Many problems were considered. The main outcome of that Conference was the setting up of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee which has almost finished its job. This keen interest of her in the affairs of Municipal Committees encouraged us to request her to declare open this Conference. She has very kindly accepted our request and has ensured the success of the Conference by her graceful presence. For this we are deeply grateful to her.

Respected Rajkumari Ji.

In the Conference of the Local Self-Government Ministers you were pained to remark that due to mismanagement of the affairs of certain Local Bodies, the Government had to interfere and that it was your earnest desire that Local Bodies in India should become first class self-governing units on the pattern of those of England and Switzerland. We have just assembled here for that very purpose. Our prayer is not simply to have this Conference declared open formally by you but we beseech you to favour us with your valuable advice by following which we may become ideal citizens and thereby help to raise the administrative standard of our Local Bodies. We have every hope that blessed by your wise guidance the Conference would be a real success and your dream of making the Local Bodies models of self rule would be realized.

So, without taking any more of your valuable time, I would request you to declare the Conference open, and give us light to guide our deliberations.

15th December, 1950.

Yudhvir Singh.

Local Bodies.
Local Bodies.
Local Bodies.
Local Bodies.

THE
JAMMU & KASHMIR GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

Government of Jammu & Kashmir.

Proclamation.

Whereas I have decided for reasons of health to leave the State for a temporary period and to entrust to the Yuvaraj Shree Karansinghji Bahadur for that period all my powers and functions in regard to the Government of the State.

Now, therefore, I hereby direct and declare that all powers and functions, whether legislative, executive, or judicial which are exercisable by me in relation to the State and its Government including in particular my right and prerogative of making laws, of issuing Proclamations, Orders and Ordinances, of remitting, commuting or reducing sentences, and of pardoning offenders, shall during the period of my absence from the State be exercisable by the Yuvaraj Shree Karansinghji Bahadur.

Sd/- Harisingh,
Maharajadhiraj.

Interest of researchers in Leadership studies is very recent in India. Mainly, the forms of the studies which have been made so far, have been on the leadership at the national and state levels. No doubt many sociologists, Social Psychologists and political scientists have done good work on the problems of leadership at various levels but not much work has been done by political scientists in the socio-political context of this problem.

The present paper aims at studying the type of leadership emerging in the Ror Community¹ both at the state and grass-root levels. Studies of this type, we hope, may lead to an empirical theory of emerging leadership within the different castes. So, the objective of the paper is to study emerging pattern of leadership in one caste only. As it was not possible to study all the communities of a state, the case study method was adopted. Moreover, this method could be helpful in making an indepth study. In order to have deep and penetrating study of the leadership of a caste single community studies are not only essential but also useful. It is with this end in view that the single community of Rors² of Haryana has been selected for the present study.

The character of the study was to be empirical in nature. All the Ror surpanches³ of the village Panchayats following in blocks of Nilokheri and Pundri of Karnal and Kurukshetra⁴ districts respectively were taken as knowledgeable. They numbered 63. Each one of them was asked to name four persons whom they considered influential for purposes of getting favour from the government for the community. Only 45 knowledgeable could be approached in this context. Others were either not available despite our repeated visits to their places or refused to cooperate. A list of 72 persons named by these knowledgeable was prepared. For purposes of our study, we treated those persons out of the list as community influentials who could secure atleast

ten nominations. That way a list of 14 influentials was obtained.

On comparison of the two lists of influentials obtained as a result of the use of positional and reputational methods, 9 members were common in both the lists. Five new persons were identified as reputational elites. On combining both the lists a consolidated list of 19 influentials was prepared. This was done deliberately so as to elicit concrete responses from them to secure authenticated, informative and objective information as regards their social, cultural, economic and political background.

Socio-Economic Background of the Leaders

Sex

An analysis of our data reveals that all the 19 elites were male. It reflects the traditional character of Ror Community, where females are supposed to do household work and not to be associated with politics or social activities.

Age

In a traditional society age commands respect; the elders are considered to be the knowledgeable persons. The following table reveals the age wise distribution of the respondents.

Table 1
Age wise distribution of respondents

Age	Respondents	Percentage
From 26 to 30 years	1	5.26%
" 31 to 35 years	-	-
" 36 to 40 years	2	10.52%
" 41 to 45 years	3	15.79%
" 46 to 50 years	-	-
" 51 to 55 years	2	10.52%
" 56 to 60 years	1	5.26%
Above 60 years	10	52.64%
Total	19	100%

More than 50% respondents were above 60 years of age which

while only three respondents were below the age of 40 years.

From this data we can say that traditional leaders are continuing in the community and are being respected by the people as knowledgeable while a few youngsters are coming as respectable persons of the community.

Education

It is generally believed that persons belonging to educated families have greater chance of acquiring leader status. So far the education is concerned following table reveals the education wise break of the respondents.

Table 2.
Education of the respondents

Education	Respondents	Percentage
Middle	1	5.26%
High School but not B.A.	8	42.11%
Graduate	7	36.34%
Post Graduate	3	15.79%
Total	19	100%

It is interesting to note here that majority of the respondents 10(52.64%) were graduates or more, which is unlikely in the rural society. This shows that education commanded respect in the community and educated people joined politics or emerged themselves in social activities from the very beginning.

Income

Income of a person determines his attitude, activities and status in the society. So the respondents were asked to state their annual income. In Indian society the authenticity of the stated income can always be doubted for leaving aside the salaried people. Nobody can or nobody state the actual income; still their statements are to be accepted and the following table presents the income wise distribution of respondents.

Table 3
Annual Income of the Respondents

Annual Income	Respondents	Percentage
From Rs.2000 to 5000/-	--	--
" Rs.5001 to 10000/-	2	10.52%
" Rs.10001 to 15000/-	2	10.52%
" Rs.15001 to 20,000/-	3	15.79%
More than Rs.20000/-	12	63.16%
Total	19	100%

The table reveals that most of the respondents are in the upper income racket and financially well off. It can also be inferred here that income is one of the attributes for community leadership.

Nature and size of the family

Seventeen of the respondents were married while two were widower. All the respondents were married in the caste. This clearly shows that unmarried persons could not get leader status.

Small family form is considered to be an indicator of modernisation. To know this aspect of the respondents' attitude they were asked to state the number of children. The following table presents a picture of the responses.

Table 4
Number of the Children of the respondents

Number of Children	Respondents	Percentage
From 1 to 2	3	15.79%
From 3 to 4	9	47.37%
From 5 to 6	4	21.05%
From 7 to 8	3	15.99%
Total	19	100%

The table reveals that majority of the respondents were traditional for they did not observe small family norm. But this be co-related with respondents' age also. Most of them were more than 50 years old. At the time of their marriage the concept of

family was not popular.

It would be interesting to find out the nature of respondents families. This can reveal whether joint family is more useful or nuclear family for acquiring leadership. When the respondents were asked to explain the form of their families, their responses emerged as majority of the respondents 11(57.89%) are still living in joint families. This shows that to a large extent joint family system still exists among Rors. However 8(42.11%) of the respondents have nuclear families. It can be deduced from this part of the profile that Rors by and large have joint family system. However nuclear families are emerging day by day due to the Rors having taken to profession other than agriculture. The family background has significant bearing for attaining leader ^{ship} status.

Occupation

The occupational background of respondents is also considered important for acquiring leader ^{ship} status. So, the respondents were asked to tell their occupation before and after entering politics. Their responses were recorded as follows. Occupation of 5(26.52%) respondents before entering politics was agriculture. Occupation of 2(10.32%) respondents was agriculture and business both, 5(26.32%) respondents stated their occupation to be service, 2(10.32%) respondents told their occupation legal practice, while 5(26.32%) respondents stated social service as their occupation.

But we find a change in the occupation of respondents after entering politics. This change is clear by the responses tabulated below:-

Table 5
Occupation of Respondents at present

Occupation	Respondents	Percentage
Agriculture	10	52.63%
Agriculture and Business	4	21.05%
Social Service	5	26.32%
Total	19	100%

We find that majority of the respondents 10 (52.63%) agriculturists, while 4 (21.05%) respondents are engaged agriculture and business both 5 (26.32%) respondents stated social service to be their occupation. We find that none of the respondents is in service at present. This may be due to the fact that a person in government service cannot be active in politics. So, they left their service or joined politics after their retirement from service.

The Political Background

Political Parties are very important agencies of politicisation. When the respondents were asked to express the political party which influenced them most at the time of student life, their responses thus obtained were recorded as follows:-

Table 6

Political Party which influenced the respondents most

Party	Respondents	Percentage
Congress Party	12	63.16%
Hindu Maha Sabha	1	5.26%
Unionist Party	1	5.26%
N.R.	5	26.32%
Total	19	100%

The table above shows that majority 12 (63.16%) of the respondents were influenced by the Congress Party when they were students followed by Hindu Maha Sabha 1 (5.26%) and unionist Party 1 (5.26%). However 5 (26.32%) respondents did not respond ~~the~~ to the question.

So, it can be inferred that most of leaders were influenced by the Congress Party at the time of their student life.

A politically conscious person is well equipped to take the leadership role. When the respondents were asked to specify the political parties, they have remained affiliated with, after entering politics, following responses were obtained:-

Table 7

Political parties of respondents, they have remained affiliated with after entering politics.

Party	Respondents	Percentage
Congress	8	42.11%
Lok Dal	1	5.26%
B.J.P.	1	5.26%
Congress & V.H.P.	1	5.26%
Congress & Jan Sangh	3	15.79%
N.R.	5	26.32%
Total	19	100%

The above table indicates that 8(42.11%) respondents have remained affiliated with Congress after joining politics, 1(5.26%) respondent affiliated with Lok Dal, 1(5.26%) respondents with B.J.P., 1(5.26%) respondent with Congress and V.H.P. (Vishal Haryana Party), while 3(15.79%) respondents have remained affiliated with congress and Jan Sangh.

It can be inferred that most of the Ror leaders after entering politics, have sided with the Congress Party. Some leaders who joined parties other than Congress subsequently came under the Congress fold. Some Ror leaders of lesser significance and stature are of course, still with the other parties like Lok Dal, B.J.P. and Janata Party.

When the respondents were asked whether they have ever defected, out of 19 respondents four replied that they defected. Out of these four, two respondents put forth the arguments that the wrong policies of the previous party they belonged forced them to change their party. While the remaining two gave reasons of infighting within the previous party.

In general, Ror leaders remained loyal to the congress party. However, some Ror leaders, who joined other parties, defected to the congress party and come under its fold. Ror leaders, who defected, cited their aversion to the policies of the previous party. However, facts speak otherwise. The Ror leaders, who defected, actually did it for political gains and not otherwise.

Political Ideology

Political scientists in India are of the opinion that politics is non-ideological one. The leadership which is emerging is more interested in self than ideology to know the ideological commitments of the respondents they were asked to express the political ideology they believed in, the following responses were obtained:

Table 8
Respondents perception of the political Ideology

Ideology	Respondents	Percentage
Gandhism	4	21.05%
Socialism	11	57.89%
Liberalism	2	10.53%
Communism	1	5.265%
Capitalism	1	5.265%

The table clearly shows that majority of the respondents 11(57.89%) expressed socialism as their political ideology they believed in; while 4(21.05%) expressed Gandhism, 2(10.53%) respondents as liberalism, 1(5.265%) respondents as communism; while 1(5.265%) respondent expressed capitalism as his political ideology. It can be inferred from this part of the file that Ror leaders in general believe in the ideology of socialism notwithstanding some other ideologies in which few Ror leaders believe in.

Membership of Socio-Cultural Institutions

Social, cultural and educational institutions related to this community are very important agencies of political socialization and political recruitment. When the respondents were asked to name the institutions other than the Ror MahaSabha, which have been related to Rors; scores were awarded to the institutions having been named by the respondents and rank was calculated on the basis of scores scored by the institutions. Janta education society Kaul(Kurukshetra) scored maximum scores thus securing first rank, while Knaya Gurukul Siksha Samiti, Anjan Thali(Karnal) secured 2nd rank, other institutions like Bhartiya Kshatriya Ror

Samaj, the Arya Samaj, Hardwar, Arya Education society, Mohana (Sonepat) scored fourth ranks respectively.

To ascertain their perception about the leadership of these institutions, a question was asked to them in the form "from where the leadership came of in these institutions." Their responses emerged as that majority of the respondents 12 (63.15%) were of the opinion that leadership of these institutions came from electoral process. They further added that all the leaders to these institutions usually have been elected unanimously. Whereas 3 (15.79%) of them held that leadership came from educated families 2 (10.53%) of them stated that leadership came from economically sound families. One of them told that leadership came from amongst the panches of various sub-castes. Only one of them did not respond.

Responses have clearly revealed that the leadership of the institutions connected with Rors has emerged through elections. Rors of different hues and shades have ~~zwazekw~~ cornered leadership of these institutions. It has been observed that leadership has been granted to only those persons, who had a spirit of social service and do something positive and concrete for the upliftment of the community irrespective of their educational or financial background.

Religious background

Rors were impressed by Arya Samaj movement. This is also reflected in the religious background of the respondents as 17 of them stated their sect to be Arya Samaj. The community in general, came under the spell and influence of Arya Samaj. Some Rors who were under the great influence of Arya Samaj went for studies to distant places. Arya Samaj served as a platform, where leadership traits could be exhibited. Some members of the Ror Community who emerged as leaders in Arya Samaj took to politics and gained leadership in the political field as well.

Respondents' Perception about the Leadership of the Community

When the respondents were put the question whether the leadership of the Ror Community continued to be concentrated in the

families which got the right to vote⁵ in pre-independence responses tabulated below were obtained.

Table 9
Perception regarding the leadership of the community

Leadership	Respondents	Percentage
Concentrated in the same families	--	--
Concentrated in the new families	5	26.32%
Concentrated in both	13	68.42%
N.R.	1	5.26%
Total	19	100%

The responses thus emerged were that 13(68.42%) respondents believed that the leadership of the Ror Community was concentrated in both. While 5(26.32%) of them were of the opinion that leadership was concentrated in the new families * one interesting fact which emerges that none of the respondents stated that leadership is in the hands of some families ** one respondent did not respond.

So, it can be concluded that leadership is not concentrated only in the privileged few families, who were granted the right to vote in the pre-independent period. Leadership has diffused and has also been captured by the new entrants on the political scene.

Conclusions

A study of the socio-economic and political background of the leadership of Ror community brought forth the following major findings:-

1. Age as a factor of dominance of traditional leadership is still continuing, though ^Q few youngsters are emerging as respectable leaders of the community.

* New families indicate those families who did not have the right to vote in pre-independence era.

** Same families indicate those families who were vested with a right to vote in pre-independence era.

Sound economic background, education, social recognition, political connections and affiliation are considered important ~~success~~ factors for attaining leadership.

3. Most of the community leaders have been affiliated with the congress party. Some leaders, who joined other parties subsequently defected and came under the fold of the congress party.
4. The community leadership has its leaning towards socialism. It has been quite averse to communism, probably due to the fact that Rors constitute a well off peasantry class.
5. Leadership of the community has been granted only to those persons who had a passion for social service and do something positive and concrete for the upliftment of the community irrespective of their educational or financial background.
6. Membership of socio-cultural organisations/Associations like Ror Maha Sabha and other educational institutions proved to be a good platform where the aspirants of leadership could show their qualities and gained leadership.
7. Arya Samaj served as a platform, where leadership traits could be exhibited. Some members of the Ror community who emerged as leaders in Arya Samaj took to politics and gained leadership in political field as well.
8. The pattern of emerging leadership in the Ror community is confined not only to the same old guards but is defused one and has reached the confines of new families also.

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REFRENCES

1. Rors, though numerically small, is an important caste of cultivators and husbandmen of Northern India. They are mainly spread in four districts of Haryana-Karnal, Kurukshetra and Sonepat and seven areas of U.P.-Dehradun, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Mathura, Etawah, Bijnor and Banaras. (These districts formed the great 'dhak' jungles south of Thanesar on the borders of Karnal and Ambala districts, lower parts of Karnal and also Jind in 1896. Denzil Ibbeston, Punjab Castes, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1974, p.178. and William Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of North Western India, Vol.IV, Delhi, Pub.1975, p.244.
2. For Rors, refer to Gazetteer of India, Haryana State, Karnal District, Haryana Gazetteers organisation Chandigarh, 1976, p.5.
3. Lists published by A.G.A. office, Karnal and Block development office, Pundri.
4. Since the Ror population is mainly confined within two blocks namely Nilokheri and Pundri of Karnal and Kurukshetra districts respectively, so we have taken the sarpanches of these two blocks as knowledgeable.
5. For the qualification of the voters, refer to K.C.Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, Tokyo, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1981. p.18.

No society remains static and unchanged. Since time immemorial, all societies-be it developed, undeveloped or under-developed, rural, semi-urban or urban-have changed over the time slowly or rapidly. No society, whether primitive tribal community or a modern complex and technical Society, can function without a leader or set of leaders. Leaders and elites play a significant, effective and dynamic role in transformation and development of a society. No objectives and tasks, howsoever planned, can be accomplished without the guidance, direction and active support of the elite and the leaders. It is this section of the society which takes decisions about the formation and execution of socio-economic development plans of an area. Without a clear understanding of the leaders and elite of a community, it may be difficult to comprehend and understand the nature and drift of the change taking place in a society. Moreover, India is a vast country full of diversities. Such a social milieu has also increased the importance of the study of the leadership both in rural and urban setting.

The present paper seeks to analyse the socio-economic background of the rural leadership to determine the leadership patterns emerging in the eight villages² of the districts of Karnal and Kurukshetra (Haryana). For purposes of this study, the panchayats of these villages (four of each district) were selected. The criterion used for selecting these villages were: i) proximity to district headquarters; ii) location in the Yamuna Belt; iii) location in the interior of the districts; and iv) big size of the village. Efforts were also made that villages dominated by people of castes such as Jats, Rors, Tyagis etc should be selected. All the members (both elected and nominated) of these village panchayats constituted in the

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month of August 1988 were made the universe of our study. A consolidated list of 80 village leaders was prepared. Questionnaire cum Interview Schedule was administered to them during the winter break of 1988. Only 68 leaders could be interviewed, because some of them could not be located despite our repeated visits to their places, while others refused to cooperate.

The nature and character of leadership is, however, to a large extent determined by demographic characteristics like age, sex, caste, religion, education, occupation, economic status, party affiliation and organisational membership of its members. These variables not only help in the formation of the attitudes but also the behavioural pattern of its members.

Sex

The leadership population of the rural community, as revealed by our survey, is predominantly male. Although women constitute 46% of the total population of the rural areas of these two districts according to the census of 1981,³ they were not at all represented in the leadership structure. They constituted only 12% of the total (i.e. 8 out of 68). All of them were coopted members of their respective panchayats. This indicated that by and large leadership was the prerogative of men only and that women had no role to play in the community life. Such an indifferent and apathetic attitude of the women in community affairs is not the peculiarity of the villages of Haryana alone, but common to several other cities as well as villages as has been established by various other studies.⁴ What to talk of Indian communities the situation is obtainable in western communities⁵ as well. The ~~simple~~ simple explanation for such a situation in India can be found in its cultural traditions. Despite the ever-growing role of modernising forces, Indian society continues to be orthodox and traditional in character. The tall talk of parity with their men folk under the new constitution in Free India remains in theory only.

Their proper place, in fact, is within the four walls of their homes, bearing and rearing children.

Age

Age determines to a large extent the behaviour and attitude of a person. The youth comparatively exhibits greater initiative, courage and confidence. But their decisions smack of immaturity and rashness. The old, on the other side, are more cautious, mature and conservative. But they are comparatively inactive and lethargic. A favourable choice, therefore, seems to crystallise towards middle aged people. The analysis of our data suggests that majority of the rural leadership (about 40 in number) belong to the age group of 31-50 (Table I)

Table I

Age-groupings of the leadership

Age-group	No. of respondents	Percentage
Below 30 years	15	22.06%
31 to 40 years	27	39.71%
41 to 50 years	13	19.12%
51 to 60 years	05	7.35%
Above 60	08	11.76%
	68	100%

This finding is significant in view of the frequent cry for bringing youth into politics and administration. This finding is similar to that of Dixit and Mehta.⁶ On a careful examination of the data, we find a clustering of the leadership in the middle age group. The smaller percentage of the youngest leaders emphasise the fact that respect and prestige is accorded to the age. But needless to say that the number of leadership in the old age group (above 60) is on the decline. Our finding that mature age is still highly associated with the leadership status has similarity in the findings of studies in India and abroad.⁷

Marital Status and Nature of Marriage

98.53% of the rural leaders are married. One respondent happened to be a widow. The incidence of inter-caste marriage among them is non-existent. The absence of inter-caste marriages denotes the hold of traditionalism on the rural leadership. We have almost similar findings by Dixit and others.⁸

Nature and Size of the Family

A majority of the rural leadership (51.47%) reported to have joint families. This displays their traditional character, though a remarkable trend towards urbanisation and modernisation is also discernible among them because 48.53% of them have simple families. This finding is similar to that of Dixit, Sirsikar and others.⁹

The incidence of large families was noticed more among the leadership. 54.41% of the respondents had four or more children, while 41.18% had children up to three. 4.41% had no child. Though traditionalism had still its sway on the rural leadership, but a growing awareness of family planning was also noticed among them.

Table 2

Size of Family

No. of Children	Respondents	Percentage
No Child	3	4.41%
One Child	6	8.82%
Two Children	11	16.18%
Three Children	11	16.18%
Four Children	14	20.59%
More than four children	23	33.82%
Total	68	100%

Birth-Place

The origin of a person goes a long way in according recognition to him in his life. The present study brings out that entire leadership was born in the countryside and therefore

it was locally supplied. of the rural leadership, an overwhelming majority (92.65%) hailed from Haryana (India), while 7.35% were born in Pakistan.

Caste

Caste is a significant variant in Indian politics. In a caste-ridden, highly stratified and traditional society like ours, it is a force which the power seekers mobilize to organise their power.¹⁰ It plays a vital role in determining the behaviour and outlook of people at all levels in general and at local level in particular. No doubt, the government in its enthusiasm to banish caste has dropped it from the census schedules. But in practice it continues to stay rather in its more forceful form. All the respondents recording their caste is an ample proof of the continuing influence of this age old institution.

(Table 3)

Table 3

Caste of the leaders

Caste	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Brahmin/Pyagi	11	16.18%
Vaishya	02	2.94%
Jat/Sikh Jat	13	19.13%
Ror	11	16.18%
B.C.	15	22.05%
S.C.	16	23.52%
Total	68	100%

Table 3 indicates that 19.12% of the rural leadership belong to the traditionally upper castes of society (i.e. Brahmins and Vaishyas). The middle castes (Jats and Rors) enjoy a greater share than the entrenched castes in leadership positions. They constitute 35.31% of the rural leadership. Of all the castes, lower castes (B.C. & S.C.) have captured a larger number of leadership positions in the countryside. They together constitute

the 45.57% of the rural leadership. The analysis of the data reveals that the lower and middle castes have overtaken the traditionally higher social echelons of the rural society. It has been possible on account of their numerical strength. This finding has similarity in the findings of Parmatma Saran, Beteille and others.¹¹

Education

Like caste, education plays a vital role in the acquisition of leadership status, more so in matters of political participation, cognition and ideological formulations. It affects the behaviour pattern both of the leaders and their followers. Well-educated persons are more likely to prove better leaders.

Table 4

Educational Standard of the leaders

Educational level	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Illiterate	30	44.12%
Literate but no schooling	02	2.94%
Primary	14	20.59%
Middle	06	8.82%
High School	08	11.77%
Undergraduate	04	5.88%
Graduate	04	5.88%
Post-graduate	-	-
Total	68	100%

Table 4 shows that a majority of the local leaders (55.88%) are literates. A good number of respondents (30 i.e. 44.12%) were also found to be illiterates. No doubt, a high level of literacy ensures leadership position, but the presence of large number of uneducated persons in the leadership group makes it amply clear that formal education is not the sole factor for acquiring the leadership status. It works in conjunction with several other factors such as caste, sound economic position, etc. Our data further revealed that about 5.88% of the leaders

were graduates. It shows that well educated persons have also started evincing their interest in local affairs. 11.77% and 5.88% of them were Matriculates and undergraduates respectively. 29.41% of them had received education below Matriculation.

Occupations

Occupation determines, to a large extent, the attitude and perceptions of a man. So its study enables us to judge the social base of the leadership. It also helps and influences the value system of a person. In these villages (Table 5) the agriculturists make the largest group of the rural leadership, i.e. 66.18%. Next to them are leaders from the labour class (20.59%). Of the remaining, 5.88% are shoe-makers and repairers, 2.94% each of them are business men and ex-service men and 1.47% belong to medical profession. 20.59% of the local leadership hailing from the labour class seems natural in view of the rapid modernisation of the farming as a result of green revolution in these two districts in particular and Haryana in general.

Table 5

Occupational Groupings of the Rural Leadership

Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Agriculture	45	66.18%
Business	02	2.94%
Shoe-making & Repairing	04	5.88%
Ex-Service men	02	2.94%
Medicine	01	1.47%
Labour	14	20.59%
Total	68	100%

Economic Status

Politics has been the monopoly of the well-to-do classes. But the various indices of economic status do not fully explain the relative economic position of the local leaders, for there is a general tendency to hide income.

As regards income recorded by the respondents, 35.30% belonged to the middle income group (Rs.10,000-40,000/-), 45.5% were from the lower income group (upto Rs.10,000) and 19.21% belonged to higher income group (Above Rs.40,000). This data falsifies the common assumption that only persons from upper income group hold leadership positions. But due to the advent of democratic politics, the leadership in modern rural Indian society is composed of the persons from lower and middle classes. We have similar findings in, Jangam and Sharma, Lal and others.¹² Thus we see that the pattern of recruitment in rural politics is shifting and new entrants have moved down the social scale. The impact of democratisation is also visible as the elite are drawn increasingly from the lower and middle classes.

Table 6

Annual Income

Income	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Under Rs.5000/-	15	22.06%
Rs.5,000/- to 10,000/-	16	23.53%
Rs.10,000 to 20,000/-	09	13.24%
Rs.20,000 to 30,000/-	09	13.24%
Rs.30,000 to 40,000/-	06	8.82%
Rs.40,000 to 50,000/-	02	2.94%
Rs.50,000 to 1 lac	05	7.35%
Above one lac	06	8.82%
Total	68	100%

Language Proficiency

Hindi, being the Mother tongue of the largest number of the leadership, was found to be more popular with them. An overwhelming majority of 98.53% of them were found to be familiar with it. It was followed by Punjabi, English and Urdu respectively. The percentage of leaders knowing Punjabi (13.24%) was more than that of English knowing (8.82%) and Urdu knowing (2.94%) leaders. It was but natural because on partition of India Punjabi speaking

Hindu refugees had largely settled in this part of the state. Similarly as a result of the spread of higher education, English knowing youth has also started getting into public life. A small percentage of Urdu knowing leaders (2.94%) shows that the old generation of leaders is on its way out. The same trend was visible in regard to their capacity to read and write these languages. A majority of 52.94% of them could read and write in Hindi. Similarly 13.24 and 2.94 of the respondents could read and write in Punjabi and Urdu respectively. But a variation and difference was noticed in respect of their capacity to read and write in English. 23.53 of the respondents could read English while only 20.59% could write in it.

Table 7

Language Proficiency of the Leaders

Language	Speaking	Reading	Writing
English	06 (8.82%)	16 (23.53%)	14 (20.59%)
Hindi	67 (98.53%)	36 (52.94%)	36 (52.94%)
Punjabi	09 (13.24%)	09 (13.24%)	09 (13.24%)
Urdu	02 (2.94%)	02 (2.94%)	02 (2.94%)

Newspapers

We have already seen that majority of the leaders had good knowledge of the four languages. It was therefore natural that they read newspapers. The reading of the newspapers is considered to be of vital importance in educating and influencing members of the rural leadership. One who reads newspapers can be well-informed and can handle his cards more effectively.

Our data revealed that a majority of the respondents (52.94%) recorded their indifference and apathy to newspaper reading. This fact can be partly explained in view of the large percentage of illiteracy found in them and partly on account of their pressing pre-occupations and non-availability of the

papers. Of the remaining 47.06%, only 22.06% of the leaders read newspapers regularly. The leaders widely differed in their choice of newspapers. Only 2.94% of the local leadership read newspapers of nationwide circulation, and the rest of them read regional newspapers.

As regards the reading of magazines, only 5.88% of the respondents (i.e. 4) recorded their positive responses. One respondent named Dharam Yug as the magazine he read, whereas the other named Ror Chetna. The remaining two respondents did not record their responses. It appeared as if these respondents lied while recording their positive responses.

Political Participation

Political participation has a great significance in a democratic polity. The greater the participation of the leaders and the public, the more are chances of institutions flourishing in a democratic state. It not only generates faith in the infrastructure of institutional set-up but also influences the decision-making process. The political participation of the rural leadership was determined on the basis of organisational membership, political affiliations and participation in the movements and the like.

Political Affiliation

Political affiliation, to a very large extent, colours the outlook and determines the ideological learnings of the leaders of all the political parties. Lok Dal had the highest number of the local leaders (10.29%) owing allegiance to it. Only 2.94% acknowledged their affiliation with Congress (I).

An overwhelming majority of them (86.76%) recorded their aloofness from the party politics. Both the Congress I local leaders were the secretary in the party at the block level. An overwhelming majority of them (97.06) held no position in the party organisation.

Political Choice in the Assembly elections

An effort was also made to know as to which party they voted for in the 1982 and 1987 Assembly elections and which party they would vote to power if the Assembly/National elections were held that day. 44.12% of the respondents voted for Congress I and 33.83% voted for Lok Dal as against 8.82% for B.S.P. and 7.35% for independents in 1982 Assembly elections. 5.88% did not record their responses. 50% of the local leaders preferred Lok Dal as against 26.48% who supported Congress I. 7.35% each voted for B.J.P. and B.S.F candidates, and 4.41% favoured independent candidates. The rest of 4.41% did not vote for any party at all. When confronted with the question as to which party would they lend their support if the elections were held today, 35.30% named Congress I as against 27.94% opting for Lok Dal. 29.41% of the respondents said that they had not decided any thing to that effect so far. 7.35% did not record their responses. An analysis of the data reveals that the responses of the leaders are totally in line with the political trends which were discernible in the 1982 and 1987 Assembly elections. The shift in their attitude towards the present ruling party i.e. Lok Dal may be probably on account of the poor performance of the present govt. and decline in the law and order situation. They appear to be disillusioned with it.

Participation in Political Movements

We also tried to examine the role of the rural leadership and the extent of its participation in various political movements, both before and after India's independence. Our data revealed that only 8.82% of the rural leaders took part in various movements, out of which 2.94% each of them took part in movements started by Sanghresh Samiti, and Kisan movement; 1.47% each of them took part in movements started

for voting Mrs. Indira Gandhi back to power during Janta regime, and for demand for Haryana Frant. A very large percentage of the rural leadership, i.e. 91.18% remained completely away from such political movements.

Participation in Elective Bodies.

Our data revealed that as many as eight leaders (i.e. 11.76%) sought election to various elective bodies such as Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti, State Legislature, Land Mortgage Bank and cooperative Mini Banks at different times. An overwhelming majority of the local leaders (i.e. 88.24%) was elected to their village Panchayats for the first time.

Conclusions

A study of the socio-economic and political background of the local leadership in Rural India brought forth the following major findings:-

Firstly, the village leadership is composed of the persons hailing from lower and middle income groups, though one never discerned their economic status with a sense of certainty. This finding falsifies the common assumption that only persons from upper income groups hold leadership positions. But due to the impact of democratic politics, the leadership in modern rural India is in the hands of persons from lower and middle classes-a trend similar to the one identified in the urban leadership studies of Sharma and Jangam, and Lat.¹³ Secondly, in terms of male dominance, nature of marriage and family, occupation, illiteracy and low level of education, and low degree of political participation and political awareness, the rural local leadership of Haryana is traditional. However, it is modern to the extent the social order is changing by recognition of persons who are young, their growing interest in the nuclear family system and emergence of lower and middle income groups and castes in the leadership positions. An analysis of our data leads us to conclude that the local rural

leadership of Haryana represents a fairly balanced partnership between tradition and modernity. They embody in themselves the transitional character of the Haryanavi society which is case of traditional social order forging its way to modernity through democratic politics. This finding of continuum between tradition and modernity has its resemblance in those of Parmatma Saran and Mehta.¹⁴

Thirdly, because of the patri-viri local society, the rural leadership of Haryana has become the prerogative of males only. Elected women leadership is totally absent. Although the joint family system remains strong on the rural community scene, there are positive signs of its decline.

Fourthly, though the lower and middle castes are assuming leadership positions, but they have not completely relegated the upper castes to the background. The lower and middle castes are increasingly taking over the traditionally higher social echelons of society on account of their numerical strength.¹⁵

Fifthly, caste and occupation rather than education and high income have played a vital role in the emergence of rural leadership in Haryana. People without formal education but strong caste and occupational affinities can acquire leadership positions. It has been possible only on account of electoral politics on caste and community lines.

Sixthly, in absence of their high socio-economic and educational status, the rural leadership was a poor recipient of the flow of political information from outside. Naturally they were found to be politically less conscious and informed. They had comparatively a smaller sense of awareness about national and international developments.

Finally, a trend of aloofness from party politics and absence of ideological commitment among the loc leaders was witnessed. They kept on shifting their loyalties to the political parties in the Assembly elections. Though they voted Lok Dal

to power in the 1987 Assembly elections, but they are getting disillusioned with it for non-fulfilment of the election promises, ever-growing corruption and decline in the law and order situation.

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AFB

WOMEN AWARENESS EMPOWERMENT:

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

*Dr. Sheetal Gupta,

The women empowerment not only constitutes a problem in almost all contemporary societies but has emerged today a fundamental crisis in human development in general and in India in particular. The sex inequality which cannot be differentiated from the variety of social, economic, religious and cultural inequalities is, however, inherent in our traditional social structures, based on caste, community and class. It has also a varying significant influence on the status of women in different spheres of life.

Historically speaking from early times down to the Indian independence, women in India had witnessed varying fortunes . At times women said to have enjoyed remarkable freedom, wielded ample powers and exercised responsibilities which gave them a high status in the society. They had therefore, risen to principles of glory, distinguished themselves as rulers in their own right, as powerful queen consort, a protectors of religious hero, as singing and dancing beauties and earned name in keeping homes also. The happiest period for women here were during vedic times and the times when country came under the sway of Buddhism.

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But with the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in India, women were gradually and increasingly deprived of their rights and privileges. In the wake of Afghans onslaught there, however, followed religious prosecution, rapes and devastation. Pardaha was more rigorously enforced and their presence in every sphere of social activity eclipsed and they were not only physically and spiritually shattered but their sole meaning and purpose in life became to keep the houses, to gratify the desires of their husbands and to procreate. Moreover, their insecurity, helplessness and physical weakness made them subservient and socially dependent.

In addition, our religious dogmas, social traditions, cultural norms and the value systems to the larger extent were also responsible for their pitiable and deplorable conditions and shaping the attitude as well as behaviour pattern of our men folk towards them. They were, thus, considered as secondary citizens with non independence of any sort.

The male oriented and dominated value system which emerged through out the British rule in India not only swayed the society but the subordination of women appeared in almost every walk of life. Even the feudal society like the semi feudal and semi capitalistic system treated women as the personal property of men. Though the major share of household work was still with the female members yet did not have the matching decision making power. The decisions for far reaching importance in almost all spheres of their life were taken by the male members. Moreover, the bride price, domestic violence

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bride burning and dowry deaths were found in several families irrespective of their social and economic background. By middle of 20th century the crime against women rapidly increased.

The deterioration of socio-economic conditions and greater strain and stress which led to the economic insecurity of men in inter-war period and thereafter further increased subjugation of women and degradation of their living and working conditions. Moreover, the post-war emergence of new productive forces, the transformation of their ownership, the changing productive relationship and impending super structures which creates distinct classes, new institutions and developed new laws had further relegated women's position to an unparalleled low relative to others in social hierarchy and economic status.

As the Indian women witnessed the most complete and the most degrading subjugation in the history of mankind during British rule, the vast majority of them, therefore, lost refinement of their mind and self confidence, spirit of revolt and sense of righteous indignation.

In spite of all these limitations, the Indian women played an important role in freedom's struggle. They suffered in thousands and passed into oblivion without any recognition or fame. The fathers of Indian freedom were also very much conscious of the deplorable conditions of women folk. They were also aware of the fact that inherent strength of women, at whose breast humanity is nourished and in whose lap civilization are cradled, if suitably channelised

could be directed towards National Development. Past experience and recent studies also indicated that women are more stronger have more capacity for endurance and even live longer. Still they draw strength from traditional and cultural values of our great civilization. In their quest of development, they have not yet forgotten their familiar duties and responsibilities. Neither have they discarded the essence of womanhood nor the long years of sufferings and discrimination have cowed down their indomitable spirit. Rather these have strengthen their resolve to relentlessly pursue and achieve their rightful place and be master of their destiny.

Despite after more than six decades of our independence and of equal rights given by our constitution as well as the existing progressive policies of the central and state governments women in India are still socially and economically one of the most disadvantaged section of our society. The vast majority of them are still ignorant of their constitutional and legal rights today as they were before independence and, thus, are far from enjoying the opportunities guaranteed to them by law. Even our society has not yet succeeded in framing the required norms and institutions to enable women to fulfil the multiple role that they are expected to play in dependent India. In addition, the social laws, that sought to mitigate the problems of the women in their family life, have still remained unknown to a large mass of women in the country in general and in country side in particular. Many atrocities and discriminations are still being perpetuated in the name of religious and social norms. They are continued to be denied the full and equal participation in decision

making, in business, in political processes as well as in social and public life. Even the so called modern, educated and broad minded families still have different set of rules for boys and girls. It is powerlessness, not poverty alone, is the real inhibiting factor among the poor women. Many atrocities and discriminations are still being perpetuated in the name of religion and social norms. As a result crimes against women such as female infanticide, domestic violence, dowry death, rape, molestation, sexual harassment etc. have been increasing on alarming speed.

While there had been much talk of the need to empower women, this has not yet resulted in specific workable or sustained measures that would help to create a social order based on gender justice.

Strategies for empowering women must focus beyond economic restructuring to include restructuring of social relations which constrain and restrain women. Rural women who form a subset of the rural poor population, lack not only money income and skill but all the more vitally self assurance and motivation also. Projects for economic amelioration have not improved their status in the family or community, because they do not think of themselves as participants and as citizens who though poor and illiterate, still have fundamental rights for fair treatment, justice, dignity, a commensurate share in the fruits of development, and above all to information about their entitlement and the alternatives available to them to make decision about their own lives.

The problem of women as discussed above cannot be tackled by legal methods of penalization and prevention alone, but by providing institutional infrastructure for their reform and rehabilitation. Similarly the gap in the perception of their needs and available opportunities, which is a major cause of their exploitation, cannot be offset by developmental programmes but by adequate understanding of the magnitude and intricacies of the problem and providing supportive institutional frame work. Moreover, in our rapidly changing and culturally differentiated society, a slow process of adjustment in its social value system and rigidity of its institution, have resulted in various forms of incongruous and deviant behaviour. Structural changes in our socio economic system are, therefore, urgently needed for a smooth process of adjustment.

Even our educational system has also failed to create awareness among the women, particularly in rural areas as well as in those belonging to the poor classes in the urban areas, about their constitutional as well as legal rights. It could not counteract the traditional belief in inequality of sexes in our society. Our schools still reflect and strengthen the traditional prejudices through their curricula and classification of subjects on the basis of sex. There is an urgent need for bringing about change in our existing education system so that it would help to create new social order based on gender equality and justice.

The educators must admit their responsibilities to create awareness among the fair sex about their rights and to bring about a change in values of our younger generation.

In order to eradicate our religious traditions and some features which have perpetuated certain stereotypes and myths about women i.e. their subordination to men, the mass-media of communication should also play its role. It should provide informative guidance and should create awareness for real or ideal models or behaviour and raise aspiration for better standards of living for women. Apart from economic dimensions, their lives as women will, thus, improve because their awareness will help them to tackle issues like better standard of living, bigamy, entitlement within and outside family and denial of dignity as individual.

Once the women are empowered with the ability and desire to think of themselves as rightful claimant to a better life, other inputs, like motivation and overcoming the cultural of submission will follow with greater ease them in conventional models of development.

While concluding, I may point out that as the social, legal and constitutional laws, that sought to mitigate the problems of women in their family life, have still remained unknown to a large mass of women in this country, There is urgent need that community organizations, Governments, Educators, Legislators and Mass-media should mobilize public opinion and strengthen social efforts against oppressive institutions like polygamy, dowry, domestic violence,

female infanticide, child marriage etc. etc. and mount a campaign for the dissemination of information about the constitutional and legal rights of women, to increase their awareness, to elevate them to a central position in developmental process as well as to create a mechanism that would allow them to participate in decision making activities that affect their community. Once the Indian women are empowered with the ability and desire to think themselves as rightful claimant to better socio politico economic life, other inputs like overcoming culture of submission would follow with greater ease than conventional modes of development.

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FACTIONALISM AND DEFLECTIONS IN ALL J&K NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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Intra-Party factionalism is the name of all or nearly all political parties and groups. In other words party system and intra-party factionalism as well as defection exist in political cultures of several countries in general and in developing countries in particular. In India too, no political party is beyond the pull of factions. The factionalism, therefore, indeed is a True feature of Indian political Science. But "factional politics has, however, remains more acute and intense at the state level."¹ If factionalism is taken purely as struggle for power, there was no factionalism as such in National Conference in 1940s because upto 1947. The National Conference was leading a movement against the autocratic government of Dogra dynasty. By the middle of 1949 the first breach in the National Conference had taken place, when Ghulam Mohiuddin Karrar, the under-ground distato of the Quit Kashmir movement, and who was not given place in the first Cabinet which Sheikh Abdullah formed under Mahatma Gandhi for left National Conference in anger² in 1949. He then organised the Kashmir Political Conference - a new party in June 1953.

In the State of Jammu and Kashmir factional politics was also relatively unknown during the early phase of the All J&K National Conference headed by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, when it assumed power in 1948. The Party was more cohesive and united because of the personality of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah.

After some time, however, some form of factional activities started in a highly subdued form and Sheikh Abdullah did not seem to take any Congisence. Bakashi Ghulam Mohd. was heading that faction but it was never an open revolt. This faction openly appeared on the scene when Mr. Sharn Lal Saraf was asked to resign from the Cabinet in the early 1953 because of his statement against the Prime Minister of the State. The G.M. Bakashi faction ultimately succeeded in getting first Sheikh Abdüllah ministry dismissed on 9th August 1953 and captured power. This may be said to the first phase of factionalism in J&K National Conference in post independence.

After the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953, a new kind of factionalism developed in the party. It was Pro Sheikh faction. It was led by Mr. M.A. Beg - a close associate of Sheikh Abudullah. But Bakashi still nabled to maintain its domäent position in the Party.

The State's new Constitution had been enforced on 26th January 1957. The people of the State was to go on Poll for Legislature under the new Constitution. There was however, dissatisfaction over the selection of Party candidates. There, therefore, emerged a new faction in National Conference soon after 1957-Assembly election. This faction led by G.M. Sadiq.

The dissension within the Party came open over the nomination of Mr. G.R. Roenzer for the Legislative Council by the faction led by G.M. Sadiq in 1960. Mr. G.R. Roenzer's

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nomination was opposed by Pro-Bakashi group in the Party. Mr. Sadiq and his faction had vehemently insisted that all the members of the previous government of Bakashi should be included in his new ministry going to be formulated after 1957 assembly elections. G.M. Bakashi equally vehemently rejected this suggestion. G.M. Sadiq and D.P. Dhar accused G.M. Bakashi by levelling number of charges against him and then resigned from the Working Committee of National Conference. Mr. G.M. Sadiq along with his faction ultimately ~~from~~ defected from the party and formed Democratic National Conference - a new party.

With the intervention of Central leadership Mr. Sadiq dissolved the Democratic National Conference and again joined National Conference. But the return of faction led by Sadiq to the Party was not the true union of hearts.

G.M. Bakashi's resignation from State Politics, under Kamraj Plan led again the emergence of the same old intra-party factionalism of the period of 1962. With the deliberate subverting the election of Mr. G.M. Sadiq as the new party leader ~~by~~ in October 1963 by the Bakashi's faction again pushed the party into worst kind of factional politics.

Khawaza Shamus-ud-Din, however, unanimously elected as leader of Legislative Party of National Conference and thus became the Prime Minister of State.

Intra Party factionalism became more serious in Shamus-ud-Din regime because of the theft of Holy Relic from the Hazarat Bal Shrine at Srinagar. This led to large arson, loot, and violence and ultimately the resignation of Shamus-ud-Din Ministry and handing power to G.M. Sadiq. Pro-Bakashi faction afterwards did try to topple the Sadiq Ministry but could not succeed.

The faction politics was, however, pushed over to as a result of the decision of Sadiq ministry to merge the J&K National Conference with the Indian National Congress, in order to become a part of mainstream of National Politics. The Pro-Bakashi faction opposed the merger move but failed to stop it. As a result twenty pro-Bakashi members of State Legislature informed the assembly speeches that they would continue to belong to National Conference. The second phase of the factionalism, however, ended with the disappearance of Pro-G.M. Bakashi faction after his death.

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, after assuming the power again after 22 years in 1975 under the Indira-Sheikh Accord, decided to revive the All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference. In 1977 State Assembly elections the newly revived National Conference returned to power with comfortable majority. The

The factional trouble into the National Conference emerged again after the Assembly Elections of 1977.

Mr. M.A. Beg, one of the most trusted and the closest Lieutenant of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah sponsored the candidature of his son-in-Law for the State Legislative Council. The voting pattern revealed that some members, more than expected, of the ruling party had voted for Beg's Son-in-Law. Sheikh Abdullah suspected the bonafides of Mr. M.A. Beg. He, therefore, decided to ask all the members of the ruling National Conference to take an oath of personal loyalty to the Party leader, Mr. M.A. Beg did not approve it and refused to take such an oath. Sheikh Abdullah, therefore, relieved him from the post of Cabinet Minister. Thus, it was the climax of the factional crisis of this phase. M.A. Beg, therefore, defected the National Conference and formed another Party named 'Inlabi' National Conference with a very few supports and started sitting separately in the State Assembly. There was a danger of further defection in the National Conference as well as in the Assembly. The Ruling National Conference, therefore, moved anti-defection bill and got it passed by the State Assembly.

In the last days of his life Sheikh Abdullah declared Dr. Farooq Abdullah, his son, as his successor and got him elected as President of the J&K National Conference. This was resented by G.M. Shah, Cabinet Minister and the son-in-Law of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, who considered himself as second in the party and deserved to be the Sheikh's successor. The factional fight, was, therefore, again started in the party. The faction at that time was G.M. Shah's faction.

After the death of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah in 1982, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the then President of JIK National Conference and son of Sheikh Abdullah became Chief Minister of the State with the blessing of a Central leadership. Dr. Farooq did not include single member of erstwhile Council of Ministers in his Ministry because most of the members of the previous Cabinet were Mr.G.M. Shah's supporters. Mr. G.M. Shah's faction then started organising itself and look for an opportunity to topple Dr. Farooq Abdullah's ministry. The factional rivalry between two contenders for power, the then Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah and his brother-in-Law Mr. G.M. Shah was, therefore, did not ceased to exist even after former's ascending to the coveted high office.

Rather it had appeared in the true fashion of factional fight between the ruling cliques and dissident groups. Comprised of several former ministers of Sheikh Abdullah's government and others owing allegiance to Mr. G.M. Shah. In some of the district level meetings of the National Conference, the rival groups had freely exchanged hot words and levelled serious allegations against each others. The ensuing dog-fight in the ruling party thus had made the confusion worst confounded. Mr. G.M. Shah did not even hesitate to take the help of J&K Pradesh Congress through D.D. Thakur - a member of Sheikh Abdullah's last Cabinet. The climax of factional fight in ruling National Conference came in July 22nd 1984, When 12 members of the Assembly belonging to National Conference and one independent member accompanied Mr. Shah to the Governor of the State alongwith Mr. Iftikar Hussain Ansari, the leader of the Congress-I Legislative Party and pleaded that Dr. Farooq Abdullah had lost the confidence of the majority of the Assembly and, therefore, had lost the Constitutional or moral right to ~~exist~~ continue in office. Dr. Farooq Abdullah pleased that loss of confidence be decided on the floor of the Assembly ~~as~~ and that was not agreed to, the assembly be dissolved. The Governor, however, did not find no justification in accepting

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either of the two suggestions. He dismissed Dr. Farooq ministry and appointed Mr. G.M. Shah as Chief Minister of the State.

The Factional fight between National Conference (Khalda) and National Conference (Farooq) further intensified and spread out the entire tenure of G.M. Shah ministry. Its intensity reduced when Dr. Farooq Abdullah again captured power in the State as a result of Dr. Farooq and Rajiv Accord.

ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

Alliance in the electoral process, however, prefer to the pre-poll strategies of different political parties and candidates by which they enter into electoral arrangement with one another in order to win. These alliances are therefore, formed, in terms of either explicit pacts or implicit alliances contest alliances.

The National Conference had contested most of the State Assembly elections without having alliance with any other parties. It was in 1977 Assembly election, the talks to have an electoral alliance between National Conference and Janata Party started. But these talks were ultimately failed and both the parties decided to go alone. However, the Jamat-i-Islami, long accused of extra-territorial loyalties made an ~~extra~~ electoral alliance with Janata Party.

The Jamait-i-Islami did not sponsor its candidate where Janata party decided to put up its own candidates. Janata Party also did the same. Their alliance, however, could not break ice and Janata party could capture only 13 seats and Jamait-i-Islami only one.

It was in 1983 Assembly elections, that National Conference President Dr. Farooq Abdullah reached an understanding with Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq. As a result, for the first time a cleaf polarisation has been taken place on political ~~par~~ front between two ~~sewigerious~~ regions - Hindu dominated Jammu and Muslim dominated Kashmir. However, it was wrong to say that both the parties had won seats on a communal basis. But a deeper analysis of the election result shows that both the Parties made deep inroads into each other's strong hold.

In eighty Parliamentary elections, the leaders of National Conference (K) and Congress-I decided to contest elections jointly and fielded candidates for all six seats. Mrs. Khaleda Shah, the President of National Conference (K), therefore, declared that her party would work in close uniformity with Congress-I with which an alliance had already been forged. Such a declaration was nothing but a re-affirmation of an earlier alliance of July 1984, between the two parties which when Pradesh Congress-I legislative party decided to extend support to theirteen members of National Conference (K)

group in the State Assembly to oust Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Thus, because of this alliance National Conference (K) had put up its candidates in two constituencies in the Valley — Srinagar and Baramulla. Whereas remaining four constituencies — Anantnag Ladakh and two in Jammu region were left for Congress-I candidates.

Dr. Farooq Abdullah President of National Conference (F) had also made efforts to forge a United Front of the opposition parties in the State to counter Congress-I — National Conference (K) alliance. But the unity talks among the opposition leaders broke up because of their ideological differences and divergent approaches on the major political issues. However, with the intervention of Begum Akbar Jehan, the wife of Sheikh Abdullah and the mother of Dr. Farooq-Abdullah, National Conference (F) — Awami Action Committee, People Conference and Panthers Party finally succeeded in entering into electoral alliance. As a result National Conference-F supported by its allies contested all the three seats in the Valley, one in Ladakh and one in Jammu. But in Udhampur Constituency it decided to give support to Mr. Bhim Singh, the President of Panthers Party. Panthers Party in return offered its support to Dr National Conference-F candidate in Jammu-Poonch Constituency.

In March 1987 Assembly elections the ruling National Conference (F) entered an election alliance with Indian National Congress. As a result the arrangement of seat adjustment was arrived between the two parties. The National Conference-F was to contest 45 assembly seats out of 76 while the remaining 31 seats would be contested by Congress-I. National Conference fielded its candidates in 36 Constituencies out of 42 in Kashmir Valley and 8 out of 32 constituencies in Jammu. It also shared the two Ladakh seats with Congress. Thus Congress contested 6 seats in the Valley, 24 seats in Jammu region and one in Ladakh. The Congress-National Conference alliance was regarded in the interest of State and Country. It was in line with efforts of Prime Minister to befriend with the estranged forces and bring them into the mainstream. National Conference (K) on the other hand, tried to seek electoral alliance with the Muslim United Front. The Election Commission of India, however, registered the National Conference led by Begum Khalida Shah as a Political Party in the State and allotted it "rising sun" as symbol for the forthcoming assembly elections. The talks for alliance

between National Conference (K) and Muslim United Front ultimately failed. As a result National Conference (Khalida) had asked all its candidates to retire from the contest because party was not a position to bear heavy poll expenses."

The ruling alliance of National Conference and Congress-I, however, secured absolute majority, in 76 member State Assembly.

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Text of 1984 Republican Party Platform :

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Text of 1984 Republican Party Platform

Following is the text of the 1984 Republican Party platform, as adopted Aug. 21 at the party's national convention in Dallas. (Story, p. 2076)

PREAMBLE

This year, the American people will choose between two diametrically opposed visions of what America should be.

The Republican Party looks at our people and sees a new dawn of the American spirit.

The Democratic Party looks at our nation and sees the twilight of the American soul.

Republicans affirm that now, as throughout history, the spiritual and intellectual genius of the American people will create a better nation and maintain a just peace. To Republicans, creativity and growth are imperatives for a new era of opportunity for all.

The Republican Party's vision of America's future, the heart of our 1984 Platform, begins with a basic premise:

From freedom comes opportunity; from opportunity comes growth; from growth comes progress.

This is not some abstract formula. It is the vibrant, beating heart of the American experience. No matter how complex our problems, no matter how difficult our tasks, it is freedom that inspires and guides the American Dream.

If everything depends on freedom — and it does — then securing freedom, at home and around the world, is one of the most important endeavors a free people can undertake.

Thus, the title of our Platform, "America's Future: Free and Secure," is more than a summary of our Platform's message. It is the essence.

The Democratic Party understands none of this. It thinks our country has passed its peak. It offers Americans redistribution instead of expansion, contraction instead of growth, and despair instead of hope. In foreign policy it asserts the rhetoric of freedom, but in practice it follows a policy of withdrawal and isolation.

The Democratic Party, in its 1984 Platform, has tried to expropriate the optimism and vision that marked the 1980 Republican Platform.

Rhetorical pilfering of Republican ideals cannot disguise one of history's major ironies: the party whose 1932 standard-

bearer told the American people, as president, that all we have to fear is fear itself has itself become the party of fear.

Today we declare ourselves the Party of Hope — not for some but for all.

It has been said that mercy must have a human heart and pity a human face. We agree. Democrats measure social programs in terms of government activity alone. But the divine command to help our neighbor is directed to each individual and not to a bureaucratic machine. Not every problem cries out for a federal solution.

We must help the poor escape poverty by building an economy which creates more jobs, the greatest poverty fighter of them all. Not to help the poor is to abandon them and demean our society; but to help the poor without offering them a chance to escape poverty is ultimately to degrade us all.

The great tasks of compassion must be accomplished both by people who care and by policies which foster economic growth to enhance all human development.

In all these areas, at home and abroad, Ronald Reagan has demonstrated the boldness of vision, the optimism for our future, and the confidence in the American people that can transform human lives and the life of a nation. That is what we expect from a President who, wounded by an assassin, walked his way into a hospital and cheerfully assured the world that he and his country would not be deterred from their destiny.

His example has shaped the 1984 Republican Platform, given it meaning and inspired its vision. We stand with President Reagan and with Vice President Bush to make it a reality.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY

Free Enterprise, Democracy, and the Role of Government

Free enterprise is fundamental to the American way of life. It is inseparable from the social, religious, political, and judicial institutions which form the bedrock of a nation dedicated to individual freedom and human rights.

Economic growth enables all citizens to share in the nation's great physical and spiritual wealth, and it is maximized by giving them the fullest opportunity to engage in economic activities and to retain the rewards of their labor.

Our society provides both a ladder of opportunity on which all can climb to suc-

cess and a safety net of assistance for those who need it. To safeguard both, government must protect property rights, provide a sound currency, and minimize its intrusions into individual decisions to work, save, invest, and take risks.

The role of the federal government should be limited. We reaffirm our conviction that State and local governments closest to the people are the best and most efficient. While President Reagan has done much to alleviate federal regulatory and bureaucratic burdens on individuals and businesses, Congress has failed to act. The size and scope of the federal government remains much too large and must be reduced.

During the Carter-Mondale Administration, no group of Americans was spared from the impact of a failing economy. Family budgets were stretched to the limit to keep pace with increases in taxes and costs of food, energy, and housing. For the first time, owning a home slipped out of reach for millions. Working people saw their wage increases outpaced by inflation. Older Americans saw their savings and retirement incomes consumed by basic living costs. Young people found job opportunities narrowing. Disadvantaged Americans faced an inefficient and wasteful bureaucracy which perpetuated programs of dependency. American business and industry faced recession, unemployment, and upheaval, as high interest rates, inflation, government regulation, and foreign competition combined to smother all enterprise and strike at our basic industries.

When President Reagan took office in 1981, our economy was in a disastrous state. Inflation raged at 12.4 percent. The cost of living had jumped 45 percent in the Carter-Mondale years. The prime rate was 21.5 percent. Federal spending increases of 17 percent per year, massive tax rate increases due to inflation, and a monetary policy debasing the dollar had destroyed our economic stability.

We brought about a new beginning. Americans are better off than they were four years ago, and they're still improving. Almost six and one-half million have found jobs since the recovery began, the largest increase in our history. One and one-half million have come in manufacturing — a part of our economy designated for stagnation and government control by Democrats. More than 107 million Americans, more than ever before, are working. Their industry proves that policies which increase incentives for work, saving, and investment do lead to economic growth, while the redistributionist policies of the past did cause unemployment, declining incomes,

and idle industries.

We will therefore continue to return control over the economy to the people. Our policies will maximize the role of the individual and build on the success of the past four years: (a) the most rapid decline in unemployment of any post-World War II recovery; (b) inflation dramatically reduced; (c) interest rates significantly cut; (d) a 25 percent cut in federal tax rates; (e) automatic tax increases eliminated by indexing tax rates; (f) the financial holdings of American families increased by over \$1.8 trillion; (g) oil prices down 35 percent in real terms; and (h) 300 million hours once devoted to government paperwork returned to individuals and business.

Our most important economic goal is to expand and continue the economic recovery and move the nation to full employment without inflation. We therefore oppose any attempts to increase taxes, which would harm the recovery and reverse the trend to restoring control of the economy to individual Americans. We favor reducing deficits by continuing and expanding the strong economic recovery brought about by the policies of this Administration and by eliminating wasteful and unnecessary government spending. Mondale-Ferraro, by contrast, boast that they will raise taxes, with ruinous effects on the economy.

To assure workers and entrepreneurs the capital required to provide jobs and growth, we will further expand incentives for personal saving. We will expand coverage of the Individual Retirement Account, especially to homemakers, and increase and index the annual limits on IRA contributions. We will increase the incentives for savings by moving toward the reduction of taxation of interest income. We will work for indexation of capital assets and elimination of the double taxation of dividends to increase the attractiveness of equity investments for small investors.

We oppose withholding on dividend and interest income. It would discourage saving and investment, create needless paperwork, and rob savers of their due benefits. A higher personal savings rate is key to deficit control. We therefore oppose any disincentives to thrift.

History has proven again and again that wage and price controls will not stop inflation. Such controls only cause shortages, inequities, and ultimately high prices. We remain firmly opposed to the imposition of wage and price controls.

We are committed to bringing the benefits of economic growth to all Americans. Therefore, we support policies which will increase opportunities for the poorest in our society to climb the economic ladder. We will work to establish enterprise zones in urban and rural America; we will work to enable those living in government-owned or subsidized housing to purchase their homes.

As part of our effort to reform the tax system, we will reduce disincentives to employment which too often result in a poverty trap for poor American families.

Fiscal and Monetary Policy

Taxation

A major goal of all Republicans in 1980 was to reduce the oppressive tax rates strangling Americans. The tax burden, which had increased steadily during the Carter-Mondale Administration, was at a record high and scheduled to go even higher. Taxes as a percentage of GNP rose from 18.2 percent in 1976 to 21 percent in 1981 and would have reached 24 percent by 1984. The tax bill for the median-income family of four had risen from \$1,713 in 1976 to \$2,778 in 1980 and would have reached \$3,943 in 1984.

Double-digit inflation had pushed individuals into ever higher marginal tax brackets. High marginal tax rates reduced the incentive for work, saving, and investment, and retarded economic growth, productivity, and job creation.

With the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, we carried out the first phase of tax reduction and reform by cutting marginal tax rates by 25 percent. Tax brackets were indexed to prevent tax hikes through bracket creep. In addition, families received further relief by reducing the marriage penalty and lowering estate and gift taxes.

Businesses and workers benefitted when we replaced outdated depreciation systems with the accelerated cost recovery system, reduced capital gains tax rates, and lowered the pressures which high tax rates place on wage demands. Investment in plants and equipment has increased 16.5 percent since 1982, resulting in 6.3 million new jobs.

In 1980, we promised the American people a tax cut which would be progressive and fair, reducing tax rates across-the-board. Despite Democrat opposition we succeeded in reducing the tax rates of all taxpayers by about 25 percent with low-income taxpayers receiving a slightly larger percentage tax reduction than high-income taxpayers. These sound economic policies have succeeded. We will continue our efforts to further reduce tax rates and now foresee no economic circumstances which would call for increased taxation.

The bulk of the tax cut goes to those who pay most of the taxes: middle-income taxpayers. Nearly three-fourths of its benefits go to taxpayers earning less than \$50,000. In fact, these taxpayers now pay a smaller percentage of total income taxes than they did in 1980; and those earning more than \$50,000 pay a larger percentage of total income taxes than they did in 1980.

As a result, the income tax system is fairer now than it was under Carter-Mondale. To keep it fair, Republicans indexed the tax code: starting in 1985, individual tax brackets, the zero bracket amount, and the personal exemption will be adjusted annually for inflation. As a result, cost of living raises will no longer push taxpayers into higher brackets.

For years, congressional big spenders used inflation as a silent partner to raise

taxes without taking the heat for passing tax increases. With indexing, taxpayers will be protected against that theft. Low- and moderate-income taxpayers benefit the most from indexing and would bear the brunt of the hidden tax increases if it were repealed.

Nearly 80 percent of the tax increase from the repeal of indexing would fall on taxpayers earning less than \$50,000. For a family of four earning \$10,000, repeal of indexing would result in a staggering 40 percent tax increase over the next five years. We pledge to preserve tax indexing. We will fight any attempt to repeal, modify, or defer it.

The Republican Party pledges to continue our efforts to lower tax rates, change and modernize the tax system, and eliminate the incentive-destroying effects of graduated tax rates. We therefore support tax reform that will lead to a fair and simple tax system and believe a modified flat tax — with specific exemptions for such items as mortgage interest — is a most promising approach.

For families, we will restore the value of personal exemptions, raising it to a minimum of \$2,000 and indexing to prevent further erosion. We will preserve the deduction for mortgage interest payments. We will propose an employment income exclusion to assure that tax burdens are not shifted to the poor. Tax reform must not be a guise for tax increases. We believe such an approach will enhance the income and opportunities of families and low- and middle-income Americans.

We oppose taxation of churches, religious schools, or any other religious institutions. However, we do believe that any business income unrelated to the religious function of the institution should be subject to the same taxes paid by competing businesses.

We oppose the setting of artificially high interest rates which would drastically curtail the ability of sellers to finance sales of their own property. Rather, we encourage marketplace transfer of homes, farms, and smaller commercial properties.

Spending and Budget

The Republican Party believes the federal budget must be balanced. We are committed to eliminating deficits and the excessive spending that causes them. In 1980, federal spending was out of control, increasing at a rate of over 17 percent. We have cut that growth rate by almost two-thirds.

But Congress ignored many of the President's budget reforms. It scaled back and delayed the tax cuts. As a result, we began to pay the price for the irresponsible spending and tax policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration. The resulting recession dramatically increased the deficit, and government spending continues at an unacceptable level.

Democrats claim deficits are caused by Americans' paying too little in taxes. Nonsense. We categorically reject proposals to

increase taxes in a misguided effort to balance the budget. Tax and spending increases would reduce incentives for economic activity and threaten the recovery.

Even when we achieve full employment and with robust economic growth, federal spending — including credit programs and other off-budget items — will remain too high. As a percentage of GNP, it must be reduced.

The congressional budget process is bankrupt. Its implementation has not brought spending under control, and it must be thoroughly reformed. We will work for the constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget passed by the Republican Senate but blocked by the Democrat-controlled House and denounced by the Democrat Platform. If Congress fails to act on this issue, a constitutional convention should be convened to address only this issue in order to bring deficit spending under control.

The President is denied proper control over the federal budget. To remedy this, we support enhanced authority to prevent wasteful spending, including a line-item veto.

Monetary Policy

Our 1980 Platform promised to bring inflation under control. We did it. This cruelest tax — hitting hardest at the poor, the aged, and those on fixed incomes — raged up to 13.3 percent under Carter-Mondale. We have brought it down to about 4 percent and we strive for lower levels.

The effects of our program have been dramatic. Real, after-tax incomes are rising. Food prices are stable. Interest rates have fallen dramatically, leading to a resurgence in home building, auto purchases, and capital investment.

Just as our tax policy has only laid the groundwork for a new era of prosperity, reducing inflation is only the first step in restoring a stable currency. A dollar now should be worth a dollar in the future. This allows real economic growth without inflation and is the primary goal of our monetary policy.

The Federal Reserve Board's destabilizing actions must therefore stop. We need coordination between fiscal and monetary policy, timely information about Fed decisions, and an end to the uncertainties people face in obtaining money and credit. The Gold Standard may be a useful mechanism for realizing the Federal Reserve's determination to adopt monetary policies needed to sustain price stability.

Domestically, a stable dollar will mean lower interest rates, rising real wages, guaranteed value for retirement and education savings, growth of assets through productive investment, affordable housing, and greater job security.

Internationally, a stable dollar will mean stable exchange rates, protection for contract prices, commodity prices which change only when real production changes, greater resources devoted to job-creating

investment, less protectionist pressure, and increased trade and income for all nations.

Regulatory Reform

Our 1980 Platform declared that "excessive regulation remains a major component of our nation's spiraling inflation and continues to stifle private initiatives, individual freedom, and State and local government autonomy." President Reagan's regulatory reform program contributed significantly to economic recovery by removing bureaucratic roadblocks and encouraging efficiency. In many fields, government regulation either did not achieve its goals or made limited improvements at exorbitant cost. We have worked with industry and labor to get better results through cooperation rather than coercion.

The flood of regulation has stopped. The number of new regulations has been halved. Unrestrained growth in the size and spending of the regulatory workforce has stopped. Some \$150 billion will thereby be saved over the next decade by consumers and businesses. In the past four years alone, 300 million hours of government-mandated paperwork were eliminated. We have reduced the regulatory burden on Americans by making government rules as cost-effective as possible. We must maintain this progress through comprehensive regulatory reform legislation and a constitutional procedure which will enable Congress to properly oversee executive branch rules by reviewing and, if necessary, overturning them.

So consumers can have the widest choice of services at the lowest possible prices, Republicans commit themselves to breaking down artificial barriers to entry created by antiquated regulations. With the explosion of computer technologies just beginning to enhance our way of life, we will encourage rather than hinder innovative competition in telecommunications and financial services.

There are still federal statutes that keep Americans out of the workforce. Arbitrary minimum wage rates, for example, have eliminated hundreds of thousands of jobs and, with them, the opportunity for young people to get productive skills, good work habits, and a weekly paycheck. We encourage the adoption of a youth opportunity wage to encourage employers to hire and train inexperienced workers.

We demand repeal of prohibitions against household manufacturing. Restrictions on work in the home are intolerable intrusions into our private lives and limit economic opportunity, especially for women and the homebound.

Support For Small Business

America's small business entrepreneurs have led the way in fueling economic recovery. Almost all the 11 million non-farm businesses in the United States are small, but they provide over 50 million jobs. We must keep them strong to ensure

lasting prosperity. Republicans reaffirm our historic ties with independent business people and pledge continued efforts to help this energetic segment of our economy.

We have created a climate conducive to small business growth. Our tax rate reductions increased incentives for entrepreneurial activity and provided investment capital through incentives to save. Reduced capital gains taxes further stimulated capital formation and increased the return on small business investment. Greater depreciation allowances encouraged modernization. Estate tax changes will allow families to keep the rewards of their labors.

We have insisted on less federal interference with small business. As a result, burdensome regulations were reduced, and runaway agencies like OSHA were reined in. We have ensured that the federal government pays its bills on time or pays interest penalties.

Presidential action has focused needed attention on increased government procurement from small and minority businesses. In FY 1983 the Small Business Administration directed \$2.3 billion in federal sole-source contracts to minority firms through its 8(a) program — a 45 percent increase over 1980. This record amount was achieved along with management improvements that eliminated past abuses in that program.

Three million women business owners are generating \$40 billion in annual receipts and creating many new jobs. Yet, their enterprises face barriers in credit, access to capital, and technical assistance. They lag far behind in federal procurement contracts. We are dedicated to helping them become full partners in the economic mainstream of small business.

To them and to all who make America grow, we reaffirm our commitment to reduce marginal tax rates further. We oppose any scheme to roll back the estate tax cuts and will seek further reductions for family businesses. Moreover, we support lower capital gains tax rates and indexation of asset values to protect investors from inflation.

We will create enterprise zones to revitalize economically depressed areas by offering simplified regulation and lower taxes for small businesses that relocate there.

We will make it easier for small businesses to compete for government contracts, not only to assist the private sector but also to provide competition and greater cost control in federal purchases.

In a continuing effort to offset our balance of trade, we reaffirm our strong support for this nation's tourism industry.

Science and Technology

We pledge to continue the Reagan Administration's science and technology policies, which have enhanced economic recovery and our nation's research capability.

We have refocused federal research and development spending on basic research, and it has increased more than 50 percent.

We propose to extend the incremental research and development tax credit to stimulate greater activity in the private sector.

To allow U.S. firms to compete on an equal footing with foreign companies, we will permit U.S. firms to cooperate in joint research and development projects.

Energy

In 1980, energy prices were at all-time highs and rising rapidly. The OPEC cartel had an iron grip on free world economies. Oil imports rose, and domestic production fell under Carter-Mondale price controls and allocations. Competition in energy markets declined.

We have all but eliminated those disastrous policies. President Reagan's immediate decontrol of oil prices precipitated a decline in real oil prices and increased competition in all energy markets. Oil price decontrol crippled the OPEC cartel.

The results have been dramatic. Imported oil prices are down 35 percent in real terms. The real price of gasoline is at a five-year low. Energy consumption has declined relative to economic growth. Energy efficiency increased by 12 percent since 1980, with lower costs to businesses and families. The Strategic Petroleum Reserve is now four times larger than in 1980, providing significant protection against any disruption in imports.

We will complete America's energy agenda. Natural gas should be responsibly decontrolled as rapidly as possible so that families and businesses can enjoy the full benefits of lower prices and greater production, as with decontrolled oil. We are committed to the repeal of the confiscatory windfall profits tax, which has forced the American consumer to pay more for less and left us vulnerable to the energy and economic stranglehold of foreign producers.

While protecting the environment, we should permit abundant American coal to be mined and consumed. Environmentally sound development of oil and natural gas on federal properties (which has brought the taxpayers \$20 billion in revenue in the last four years) should continue. We believe that as controls have been lifted from the energy marketplace, conservation and alternative sources of energy, such as solar, wind, and geothermal, have become increasingly cost-effective. We further take pride in the fact that Reagan Administration economic policies have created an environment most favorable to the small businesses that pioneer these alternative technologies.

We now have a sound, long-term program for disposal of nuclear waste. We will work to eliminate unnecessary regulatory procedures so that nuclear plants can be brought on line quickly, efficiently, and safely. We call for an energy policy, the stability and continuity of which will restore and encourage public confidence in the fiscal stability of the nuclear industry.

We are committed to the termination of the Department of Energy. President Reagan has succeeded in abolishing that part which was telling Americans what to buy, where to buy it, and at what price — the regulatory part of DOE. Then he reduced the number of bureaucrats by 25 percent. Now is the time to complete the job.

Agriculture

Securing a Prosperous Rural America

The Republican Party is thankful for, and proud of, the ability of American farmers and ranchers to provide abundant, high quality, and nutritious food and fiber for all our citizens and millions more throughout the world. This unmatched ability to produce is basic to this country's high standard of living. We recognize that a prosperous agriculture is essential to the future of America and to the health and welfare of its people. We have set the stage for securing prosperity in rural America. In 1979, farm and ranch production costs increased 19 percent, in 1983 they actually declined by almost 3 percent. The prime interest rate has been brought down from 21.5 percent to 13 percent. Our reputation as a reliable world food and fiber supplier has been restored. Despite that remarkable beginning, much remains to be done.

We believe well managed, efficient American farm and ranch operations are the most cost-effective and productive food and fiber suppliers in the world, and therefore have the inherent economic capability and right to make a profit from their labor, management, and investments. The primary responsibility of government with respect to agriculture is to create the opportunity for a free and competitive economic and policy environment supportive of the American farmers' and ranchers' industrious and independent spirit and innovative talent. We further believe that, to the extent some well-managed and efficient farms and ranches are temporarily unable to make a profit in the marketplace, it is in the public interest to provide reasonable and targeted assistance.

The Carter-Mondale Administration, and 28 years of a Congress rigidly controlled by the Democrats and out of touch with the people, brought farmers and ranchers to the hardest times since the Great Depression. Farm and ranch incomes fell to disastrous levels. Uncontrolled inflation and the highest interest rates in over a century prevented farmers from operating at a profit, and 300,000 of them went out of business under Carter-Mondale.

In the span of but four devastating years, the Carter-Mondale Administration managed to jeopardize this country's agricultural heritage by putting America's farmers \$78 billion further in debt (a 75 percent increase) and inflating farmers' annual food and fiber production costs by \$46 billion (55 percent increase). These irresponsible inflationary policies led to spiral-

ing land values and to the illusion of enhanced debt-bearing wealth. This paper wealth was converted into very real and unavoidable debt. Debt payments, combined with record cost of production levels, have presented many farmers and ranchers with severe cash flow problems. On top of all that came the Carter-Mondale grain embargo of 1980. Thus, one begins to understand the origins of the financial stress farmers and ranchers are experiencing today. Adding insult to injury, farmers and ranchers found themselves blamed as Carter-Mondale inflation ballooned consumer food costs by \$115 billion, a 50 percent increase in four years.

Republicans support a sound agricultural credit policy, including the Farm Credit System, to meet agriculture's expanding credit needs. We support an extensive examination of agricultural and rural credit and crop insurance programs to assure they are adequately serving our farmers and rural residents.

Interest Rates and Farm and Ranch Indebtedness

The magnitude of indebtedness and the level of interest rates significantly influence farm and ranch profitability. The interrelationship between high interest rates and the high value of the dollar has caused an erosion in our competitive position in export markets. Republicans recognize that lower interest rates are vital to a healthy farm and ranch economy and pledge that an economic priority of the first order will be the further lowering of interest rates by intensifying our efforts to cut federal spending to achieve a balanced budget and reform Federal Reserve policy.

Republicans are very much aware of the devastating impact which high interest rates have had, and continue to have, on the viability of America's farmers and ranchers. We also realize that, unless interest rates decline significantly in the near future, the character of American agriculture and rural life will be tragically changed. For these reasons, we pledge to pursue every possible course of action, including the consideration of temporary interest rate reductions, to ensure the American farmer or rancher is not a patient that dies in the course of a successful economic operation.

Republicans are cognizant that there are many well-managed, efficient, farm and ranch operations which face bankruptcy and foreclosure. The foreclosures and resulting land sales will jeopardize the equity positions of neighboring farms and ranches, compounding financial problems in agriculture. Republicans pledge to implement comprehensive Farmers Home Administration and commercial farm and ranch debt restructuring procedures, including the establishment of local community farm and ranch finance committees, which shall advise borrowers, lenders, and government officials regarding debt restructuring alternatives and farmer and rancher eligibility.

Setting the Stage for Farm and Ranch Recovery

Sensitive to the needs of farmers and ranchers, we have made the best of the tools available to deal with the Carter-Mondale failure. Among the many specific accomplishments of the Reagan Administration in agriculture, Republicans are proud to have:

- Lifted the Carter-Mondale grain embargo and demonstrated by word and deed that farm and ranch product embargoes will not be used as a tool of foreign policy, negotiated a long term agreement with the Soviet Union, and strengthened our credibility as a reliable supplier by enacting contract sanctity legislation.
- Increased food assistance and agricultural export financing programs to over \$7 billion, a record level.
- Challenged unfair export subsidy practices and aggressively countered them with "blended credit" and other export expansion programs.
- Achieved major breakthroughs in Japan's beef and citrus quotas, allowing our exports to double over four years.
- Resisted protectionist efforts by other industries, such as domestic content legislation, that would cause a backlash against U.S. farm and ranch exports.
- Developed and implemented the PIK program to draw down burdensome reserve stocks of major commodities created by the Carter-Mondale embargo.
- Reformed bankruptcy law to provide for accelerated distribution of farm products in bankrupt elevators, acceptance of warehouse receipts and scale tickets as proof of ownership, and allowing a lien against elevator assets for unpaid farmers.
- Eliminated the marriage penalty for a surviving spouse and protected family farms and ranches by exempting, by 1987, up to \$600,000 from estate taxes.
- Accelerated depreciation of farm and ranch equipment and buildings and increased the exemption for agricultural vehicles from the heavy vehicle use tax.
- Increased the gasoline tax exemption by 50 percent for alcohol fuels, stimulating demand for domestic grain production and reducing dependency on foreign oil.
- Worked with rural credit and farm and ranch lending institutions to assure adequate capital at the lowest possible interest rates.
- Responded to the emergency financial needs of farmers and ranchers stricken by drought and flood.

We want real profits for farmers and ranchers. We have begun the turnaround on farm and ranch incomes. Sound fiscal, monetary, and growth-oriented tax policies are essential if farmers are to realize sufficient and enduring profits. We support legislation to permit farmers, ranchers, and other self-employed individuals to deduct from their gross income up to one-half of the cost of their personal hospitalization insurance premiums.

Government policies should strengthen the ability of farmers and

ranchers to provide quality products at reasonable rates of return in an expanding economy. We believe that federal farm programs should be tailored to meet economic needs and requirements of today's structurally diverse and internationally oriented agriculture. These programs must be sensitive to potential impacts on all agriculture, especially non-program commodities, livestock, agribusiness and rural communities.

Republicans believe that the future of American agriculture lies in the utilization of our rich farmland, advanced technology, and hard working farm and ranch people, to supply food and fiber to the world. Traditional farm programs have threatened the confidence of America's farmers and ranchers and exhausted the patience of American taxpayers. We reject the policy of more of the same, and we further reject the Democrats' public utility vision of agriculture which views it as a problem to be minimized by further political and bureaucratic management. Our new programs will bring the flexibility to adjust to rapidly changing export market conditions and opportunities, and, in a timely and effective manner, respond to the inherent, uncontrollable risks of farming and ranching.

Rural Americans impart a special strength to our national character, important to us all. Whether farmers or not, all rural citizens should have the same consideration as those who live in towns and cities in economic development, energy, credit, transportation availability, and employment. Opportunities for non-farm jobs have become increasingly important to farm and ranch families, enhancing life and work in rural America.

Toward Fair and Expanded Markets and Responding to Hunger

Agriculture is an international advantage for the United States. But a successful farm and ranch policy demands earnest attention to building on the strength of our domestic production capacity and to developing world markets, for American agriculture cannot be prosperous without exports.

Our farmers and ranchers must have full access to world markets and should not have to face unfair export subsidies and predatory dumping by other producing nations without redress. Republicans believe that unfair trade practices and non-tariff barriers are so serious that a comprehensive renegotiation of multilateral trade arrangements must be undertaken to revitalize the free, fair, and open trade critical to worldwide economic growth.

The Republican Party is unalterably opposed to the use of embargoes of grain or other agricultural products as a tool of foreign policy. The Carter-Mondale grain embargo is still — more than any other factor — the cause of the present difficulties in American agriculture and possibly the irretrievable loss of foreign markets. Republicans say "Never again." The Democratic Platform says nothing.

America has a long history of helping those in need, and the responsibility for

food assistance has been shared by federal and State governments and neighborhood volunteers. Federal expenditures in this area exceeded \$19 billion in 1983, the highest amount ever. Numerous private and public efforts assure that adequate food is available. This expresses faith in our future and reflects our people's goodness.

We will provide adequate resources in programs ranging from food stamps to school lunches for the truly needy. We also recognize that fraud and abuse must be eliminated from those programs. We stress maximum local control consistent with national objectives.

Reducing Excessive Regulation in Agriculture

Excessive federal regulations, many imposed by the Carter-Mondale Administration, have been a crushing burden.

In 1980, we pledged to make sensible reductions in regulations that drained the profitability from farming, ranching, and commercial fishing. We did just that. We restored balance to the Interior Department's ineffective predator-control policies, and we moderated the EPA's and the FDA's excessive adherence to "zero risk" standards concerning the use of pesticides, antibiotics, food additives, and preservatives.

Republicans favor modernizing our food-safety laws, providing guidelines for risk-benefit assessment, peer review, and regulatory flexibility consistent with other health and safety policies.

Soil and Water Conservation

Agriculture must be both economically and environmentally sustainable. The soil and water stewardship of our farmers, ranchers, watermen, and rural people is commendable. Republicans believe that long-term soil, water, and other conservation policies, emphasizing environmentally sound agricultural productivity, rangeland protection, fish and wildlife habitat, and balanced forestry management, must be a top priority. Conservation practices must be intensified and integrated with farm programs to safeguard our most valuable resources. Volunteer participation, emphasizing State and local control and adequate incentives, is essential to effective conservation.

Water Policy

In 1980, we pledged a water policy which addressed our national diversity in climate, geography, reclamation needs, and patterns of land ownership. We promised a partnership between the States and federal government which would not destroy traditional State supremacy in water law, and which would avert a water crisis in the coming decades. That partnership is now working to meet these challenges.

The Future of Farming

American agriculture is the world's most successful because of the hard work

and creativity of family farmers and ranchers. They have benefitted immensely from agricultural research, extension, and teaching, unequalled in the world. Cooperative extension, operating in every county, brings the results of USDA and Land Grant University research to rural America. We support these programs, with special attention to marketing efficiencies, reduced production costs, and new uses for farm and ranch commodities. We also encourage the establishment of regional international research and export trade centers.

Our agricultural people have developed the ideals of free enterprise and have based their enterprise on our culture's basic element, the family. The family farm and ranch is defined as a unit of agriculture production managed as an enterprise where labor and management have an equity interest in the business and a direct gain or loss from its operation. Family farms and ranches are the heart, soul, and backbone of American agriculture; it is the family farm that makes our system work better than any other.

Our rural and coastal people developed a great diversity of support organizations. They organized farm and ranch cooperatives, and rural electric and telephone cooperatives to provide essential services. They established farm and ranch organizations to work for better farm policies and to improve the quality of rural life. Republicans note with particular pride and enthusiasm the vital impact women have always had in American farming and ranching, and we support efforts to increase their role.

American agriculture has always relied upon the hardworking people who harvest seasonal and perishable crops. Republicans support comprehensive farm-labor legislation, fair to workers and employers, to protect consumers from work stoppages which disrupt the flow of food.

Republicans also recognize the tremendous efforts of commercial fishers to bring nutritious seafood products to market, thus strengthening America's food base.

Our agriculture is both a global resource and a tremendous opportunity. Only America possesses the natural, technological, management, and labor resources to commercially develop agriculture's next frontier.

We are encouraged by innovation in agriculture, and applaud its diversity, creativity, and enterprise. Commercial applications of new technology and marketing and management innovations are creating additional opportunities for farming and ranching. Republicans have set the stage for building a new prosperity into our fundamentally strong agricultural system. We renew our national commitment to American farmers and ranchers.

International Economic Policy

The recent tremendous expansion of international trade has increased the stan-

dard of living worldwide. Our strong economy is attracting investment in the United States, which is providing capital needed for new jobs, technology, higher wages, and more competitive products.

We are committed to a free and open international trading system. All Americans benefit from the free flow of goods, services and capital, and the efficiencies of a vigorous international market. We will work with all of our international trading partners to eliminate barriers to trade, both tariff and non-tariff. As a first step, we call on our trading partners to join in a new round of trade negotiations to revise the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in order to strengthen it. And we further call on our trading partners to join us in reviewing trade with totalitarian regimes.

But free trade must be fair trade. It works only when all trading partners accept open markets for goods, services, and investments. We will review existing trade agreements and vigorously enforce trade laws including assurance of access to all markets for our service industries. We will pursue domestic and international policies that will allow our American manufacturing and agricultural industries to compete in international markets. We will not tolerate the loss of American jobs to nationalized, subsidized, protected foreign industries, particularly in steel, automobiles, mining, footwear, textiles, and other basic industries. This production is sometimes financed with our own tax dollars through international institutions. We will work to stop funding of such projects that are detrimental to our own economy.

The greatest danger today to our international trade is a growing protectionist sentiment. Tremendous fluctuations in exchange rates have rendered long-term international contracts virtually useless. We therefore urge our trading partners to join us in evaluating and correcting the structural problems of the international monetary system, to base it on more stable exchange rates and free capital markets.

Further, we support reorganization of trade responsibilities in order to reduce overlap, duplication, and waste in the conduct of international trade and industry.

Revisions in that system will stabilize trade relations so that debtor nations can repay their debts. These debts are the direct result of their domestic policies, often mandated by multilateral institutions, combined with the breakdown of the international monetary system. Slower economic growth, reduced imports, and higher taxes will not relieve debt burdens, but worsen them. The only way to repay the debts is to create productive capacity to generate new wealth through economic expansion, as America has done.

Austerity should be imposed not on people, but on governments. Debtor nations seeking our assistance must increase incentives for growth by encouraging private investment, reducing taxes, and eliminating subsidies, price controls, and politically motivated development projects.

SECURITY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

America was built on the institutions of home, family, religion, and neighborhood. From these basic building blocks came self-reliant individuals, prepared to exercise both rights and responsibilities.

In the community of individuals and families, every generation has relearned the art of self-government. In our neighborhoods, Americans have traditionally taken care of their needs and aided the less fortunate. In the process we developed, independent of government, the remarkable network of "mediating institutions" — religious groups, unions, community, and professional associations. Prominent among them have been innumerable volunteer groups, from fire departments and neighborhood-watch patrols to meals-on-wheels and the little leagues.

Public policy long ignored these foundations of American life. Especially during the two decades preceding Ronald Reagan's election, the federal government eroded their authority, ignored their rights, and attempted to supplant their functions with programs at once intrusive and ineffectual. It thereby disrupted our traditional patterns of caring, sharing, and helping. It elbowed out the voluntary providers of services and aid instead of working through them.

By centralizing responsibility for social programs in Washington, liberal experimenters destroyed the sense of community that sustains local institutions. In many cases, they literally broke up neighborhoods and devastated rural communities.

Washington's governing elite thought they knew better than the people how to spend the people's money. They played fast and loose with our schools, with law enforcement, with welfare, with housing. The results were declining literacy and learning, an epidemic of crime, a massive increase in dependency, and the slumming of our cities.

Worst of all, they tried to build their brave new world by assaulting our basic values. They mocked the work ethic. They scorned frugality. They attacked the integrity of the family and parental rights. They ignored traditional morality. And they still do.

Our 1980 Republican Platform offered a renewed vision. We based it upon home, family, and community as the surest guarantees of both individual rights and national greatness. We asserted, as we do now, the ethical dimension of public policy: the need to return to enduring principles of conduct and firm standards of judgment.

The American people responded with enthusiasm. They knew that our roots, in family, home, and neighborhood, do not tie us down. They give us strength. Once more we call upon our people to assert their supervision over government, to affirm their rights against government, to uphold their interests within government.

Housing and Homeownership

Homeownership is part of the American Dream. For the last two decades, that dream has been endangered by bad public policy. Government unleashed a dreadful inflation upon homebuyers, driving mortgage rates beyond the reach of average families, as the prime rate rose more than 300 percent (from 6.5 percent to 21.5 percent). The American worker's purchasing power fell every year from 1977 through 1980.

No wonder the housing industry was crippled. Its workers faced recurrent recessions. The boom-and-bust cycle made saving foolish, investment risky, and housing scarce.

Federal housing blighted stable low-income neighborhoods, disrupting communities which people had held together for generations. Only government could have wasted billions of dollars to create the instant slums which disgrace our cities.

In our 1980 Platform, we pledged to reverse this situation. We have begun to do so, despite obstructionism from those who believe that the taxpayer's home is government's castle.

We attacked the basic problem, not the symptoms. We cut tax rates and reduced inflation to a fraction of the Carter-Mondale years. The median price house that would cost \$94,800 if Carter-Mondale inflation had continued now costs \$74,200. The average monthly mortgage payment, which rose by \$342 during the Carter-Mondale years, has increased just \$24 since January 1981. The American Dream has made a comeback.

To sustain it, we must finish the people's agenda.

We reaffirm our commitment to the federal-tax deductibility of mortgage interest payments. In the States, we stand with those working to lower property taxes that strike hardest at the poor, the elderly, and large families. We stand, as well, with Americans earning possession of their homes through "sweat-equity" programs.

We will, over time, replace subsidies and welfare projects with a voucher system, returning public housing to the free market.

Despite billions of dollars poured into public housing developments, conditions remain deplorable for many low-income Americans who live in them. These projects have become breeding grounds for the very problems they were meant to eliminate. Their dilapidated and crumbling structures testify to decades of corrupt or incompetent management by poverty bureaucrats.

Some residents of public housing developments have reversed these conditions by successfully managing their own housing units through creative self-help efforts. It is abundantly clear that their pride of ownership has been the most important factor contributing to the efficiency of operation, enhancing the quality of housing, improving community morale, and providing incentives for their self-improvement.

The Republican Party therefore supports the development of programs which will lead to homeownership of public housing developments by current residents.

We strongly believe in open housing. We will vigorously enforce all fair housing laws and will not tolerate their distortion into quotas and controls.

Rent controls promise housing below its market cost but inevitably result in a shortage of decent homes. Our people should not have to underwrite any community which erodes its own housing supply by rent control.

Sound economic policy is good housing policy. In our expanding economy, where people are free to work and save, they will shelter their families without government intrusion.

Welfare

Helping the less fortunate is one of America's noblest endeavors, made possible by the abundance of our free and competitive economy. Aid should be swift and adequate to ensure the necessities of a decent life.

Over the past two decades, welfare became a nightmare for the taxpayer and the poor alike. Fraud and abuse were rampant. The costs of public assistance are astronomical, in large part because resources often benefit the welfare industry rather than the poor.

During the 1970s, the number of people receiving federal assistance increased by almost 300 percent, from 9 million to 35 million, while our population increased by only 11.4 percent. This was a fantastic and unsustainable universalization of welfare.

Welfare's indirect effects were equally bad. It became a substitute for urgently needed economic reforms to create more entry-level jobs. Government created a hellish cycle of dependency. Family cohesion was shattered, both by providing economic incentives to set up maternal households and by usurping the breadwinner's economic role in intact families.

The cruellest result was the maternalization of poverty, worsened by the breakdown of the family and accelerated by destructive patterns of conduct too long tolerated by permissive liberals. We endorse programs to assist female-headed households to build self-sufficiency, such as efforts by localities to enable participants to achieve permanent employment.

We have begun to clean up the welfare mess. We have dramatically reduced the poor's worst enemy — inflation — thereby protecting their purchasing power. Our resurgent economy has created over six million new jobs and reduced unemployment by 30 percent.

We have launched real welfare reforms. We have targeted benefits to the needy through tighter eligibility standards, enforced child-support laws, and encouraged "welfare" in the States. We gave States more leeway in managing welfare programs, more assistance with fraud con-

trol, and more incentives to hold down costs.

Only sustained economic growth, continuing our vigorous recovery, can give credible hope to those at the bottom of the opportunity ladder.

The working poor deserve special consideration, as do low-income families struggling to provide for their children. As part of comprehensive simplification of the federal tax code, we will restore the real value of their personal tax exemptions so that families, particularly young families, can establish their economic independence.

Federal administration of welfare is the worst possible, detached from community needs and careless with the public's money. Our long tradition of State and local administration of aid programs must be restored. Programs and resources must be returned to State and local governments and not merely exchanged with them. We will support block grants to combine duplicative programs under State administration.

We must also recognize and stimulate the talents and energy of low-income neighborhoods. We must provide new incentives for self-help activities that flow naturally when people realize they can make a difference. This is especially critical in foster care and adoption.

Because there are different reasons for poverty, our programs address different needs and must never be replaced with a unitary income guarantee. That would betray the interest of the poor and the taxpayers alike.

We will employ the latest technology to combat welfare fraud in order to protect the needy from the greedy.

Whenever possible, public assistance must be a transition to the world of work, except in cases, particularly with the aged and disabled, where that is not appropriate. In other cases, it is long overdue.

Remedying poverty requires that we sustain and broaden economic recovery, hold families together, get government's hand out of their pocketbooks, and restore the work ethic.

Health

Our tremendous investment in health care has brought us almost miraculous advances. Although costs are still too high, we have dramatically enhanced the length and quality of life for all.

Faced with Medicare and Medicaid mismanagement, government tried to ration health care through arbitrary cuts in eligibility and benefits. Meanwhile, inflation drove up medical bills for us all. Economic incentives were backwards, with little awareness of costs by individual patients. Reimbursement mechanisms were based on expenses incurred, rather than set prospectively. Conspicuously absent were free-market incentives to respond to consumer wishes. Instead, government's heavy hand was everywhere.

We narrowly averted disaster. We

moved creatively and carefully to restructure incentives, to free competition, to encourage flexible new approaches in the States, and to identify better means of health-care delivery. Applying these principles, we will preserve Medicare and Medicaid. We will eliminate the excesses and inefficiencies which drove costs unacceptably high in those programs. In order to assure their solvency and to avoid placing undue burdens on beneficiaries, reform must be a priority. The Republican Party reaffirms its commitment to assure a basic level of high quality health care for all Americans. We reaffirm as well our opposition to any proposals for compulsory national health insurance.

While Republicans held the line against government takeover of health care, the American people found private ways to meet new challenges. There has been a laudable surge in preventive health care and an emphasis upon personal responsibility for maintaining one's health. Compassionate innovation has developed insurance against catastrophic illness, and facilitated "at risk" plans are encouraging innovation and creativity.

We will maintain our commitment to health excellence by fostering research into yet-unconquered diseases. There is no better investment we as a nation can make than in programs which hold the promise of sounder health and longer life. For every dollar we spend on health research, we save many more in health care costs. Thus, what we invest in medical research today will yield billions of dollars in individual productivity as well as savings in Medicare and Medicaid. The federal government has been the major source of support for biomedical research since 1945. That research effort holds great promise for combatting cancer, heart disease, brain disorders, mental illness, diabetes, Alzheimer's disease, sickle cell anemia and numerous other illnesses which threaten our nation's welfare. We commit to its continuance.

Many health problems arise within the family and should be dealt with there. We affirm the right and responsibility of parents to participate in decisions about the treatment of children. We will not tolerate the use of federal funds taxed away from parents, to abrogate their role in family health care.

Republicans have secured for the hospice movement an important role in federal health programs. We must do more to enable persons to remain within the unbroken family circle. For those elderly confined to nursing homes or hospitals, we insist that they be treated with dignity and full medical assistance.

Discrimination in health care is unacceptable; we guarantee, especially for the handicapped, non-discrimination in the compassionate healing that marks American medicine.

Government must not impose cumbersome health planning that causes major delays, increases construction costs, and stifles competition. It should not unduly delay the approval of new medicines, nor

adhere to outdated safety standards hindering rapidly advancing technology.

We must address ailments, not symptoms, in health-care policy. Drug and alcohol abuse costs thousands of lives and billions of dollars every year. We reaffirm our vigorous commitment to alcohol and drug abuse prevention and education efforts. We salute the citizens' campaign, launched from America's grassroots, against drunk driving. We applaud those States which raised the legal drinking age.

Much illness, especially among the elderly, is related to poor nutrition. The reasons are more often social than economic: isolation, separation from family, and often a mismatch between nutritional needs and available assistance. This reinforces our efforts to protect federal nutrition programs from fraud and abuse, so that their benefits can be concentrated upon the truly needy.

A supportive environment linking family, home, neighborhood, and workplace is essential to sound health policy. The other essential step is to encourage the individual responsibility and group assistance that are uniquely American.

Environment

It is part of the Republican philosophy to preserve the best of our heritage, including our natural resources. The environment is not just a scientific or technological issue; it is a human one. Republicans put the needs of people at the center of environmental concerns. We assert the people's stewardship of our God-given natural resources. We pledge to meet the challenges of environmental protection, economic growth, regulatory reform, enhancement of our scenic and recreational areas, conservation of our non-renewable resources, and preservation of our irreplaceable natural heritage.

Americans were environmentalists long before it became fashionable. Our farmers cared for the earth and made it the world's most bountiful. Our families cared for their neighborhoods as an investment in our children's future. We pioneered the conservation that replenished our forests, preserved our wildlife, and created our national park system.

The American people have joined together in a great national effort to protect the promise of our future by conserving the rich beauty and bounty of our heritage. As a result, by almost any measure, the air is cleaner than it was 10 years ago, and fish are returning to rivers where they had not been seen for generations.

Within the last four years, dramatic progress has been made in protecting coastal barrier islands, and we began the Park Preservation and Restoration Program to restore the most celebrated symbols of our heritage. We support programs to restore and protect the nation's estuaries, wetland resources, and beaches.

The Republican Party endorses a strong effort to control and clean up toxic wastes. We have already tripled funding to

clean up hazardous waste dumps, quadrupled funding for acid rain research, and launched the rebirth of the Chesapeake Bay.

The environmental policy of our nation originated with the Republican Party under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt. We hold it a privilege to build upon the foundation which we have laid. The Republican Party supports the continued commitment to clean air and clean water. This support includes the implementation of meaningful clean air and clean water acts. We will continue to offer leadership to reduce the threat to our environment and our economy from acid rain, while at the same time preventing economic dislocation.

Even as many environmental problems have been brought under control, new ones have been detected. And all the while, the growth and shifts of population and economic expansion, as well as the development of new industries, will further intensify the competing demands on our national resources.

Continued progress will be much more difficult. The environmental challenges of the 1980s are much more complex than the ones we tried to address in the 1970s, and they will not yield quickly to our efforts. As the science and administration of environmental protection have become more sophisticated, we have learned of many subtle and potentially more dangerous threats to public health and the environment.

In setting out to find solutions to the environmental issues of the 1980s and 1990s, we start with a healthy appreciation of difficulties involved. Detecting contamination, assessing the threat, correcting the damage, setting up preventive measures, all raise questions of science, technology, and public policy that are as difficult as they are important. However, the health and well being of our citizens must be a high priority.

The number of people served by waste water treatment systems has nearly doubled just since 1970. The federal government should offer assistance to State and local governments in planning for the disposal of solid and liquid wastes. A top priority nationwide should be to eliminate the dumping of raw sewage.

We encourage recycling of materials and support programs which will allow our economic system to reward resource conservation.

We also commit ourselves to the development of renewable and efficient energy sources and to the protection of endangered or threatened species of plants and wildlife.

We will be responsible to future generations, but at the same time, we must remember that quality of life means more than protection and preservation. As Teddy Roosevelt put it, "Conservation means development as much as it does protection." Quality of life also means a good job, a decent place to live, accommodation for a growing population, and the continued economic and technological develop-

ment essential to our standard of living, which is the envy of the whole world.

Transportation

America's overall transportation system is unequalled. Generating over 20 percent of our GNP and employing one of every nine people in the work force, it promotes the unity amid diversity that uniquely characterizes our country. We travel widely, and we move the products of field and factory more efficiently and economically than any other people on earth.

And yet, four years ago, the future of American transportation was threatened. Over several decades, its vigor and creativity had been stunted by the intrusion of government regulation. The results were terribly expensive, and consumers paid the price. Our skies and highways were becoming dangerous and congested. With the same vision that marked President Eisenhower's beginning of the Interstate Highway System, the Reagan Administration launched a massive modernization of America's transport systems.

An expanded highway program is rebuilding the nation's roads and bridges and creating several hundred thousand jobs in construction and related fields. Driving mileage has increased by 8 percent, but greater attention to safety has led to a 17 percent reduction in fatalities, saving more than 8,000 lives yearly.

In public transit, we have redefined the federal role to emphasize support for capital investment, while restoring day-to-day responsibility to local authorities.

Our National Airspace Plan is revolutionizing air traffic control. It will improve flight safety and double the nation's flight capacity, providing better air service and stimulating economic growth.

Regulatory reform is revitalizing American transportation. Federal agencies had protected monopolies by erecting regulatory barriers that hindered the entry of new competitors. Small businesses and minority enterprises were virtually excluded. Prices were set, not by the public through free exchange, but by Washington clerks through green eyeshades.

Republicans led the successful fight to break government's stranglehold. The deregulation of airline economics (not their safety!) will be completed on December 30, 1984, when the Civil Aeronautics Board closes its doors forever. Through our regulatory reform efforts, the rail and trucking industries are now allowed to compete in both price and service. We also led the fight to deregulate interstate bus operations by enacting the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982. While returning to a more free and competitive marketplace, we have ensured that small communities in rural America will retain necessary services through transitional assistance like the Essential Air Service Program, which will continue for four more years.

The Shipping Act of 1984 secured the first major reform of maritime law, as it applies to the U.S. liner trade, since 1916.

This major step introduces genuine competition to the maritime industry, while enhancing our ability to compete against international cartels. Important in peacetime, critical in times of conflict, one of our proudest industries had long been neglected. We have expanded employment and brought hope of a future worthy of its past. The Reagan defense program now provides more work for our shipyards than at any time since World War II. We seek to halt the decline of our commercial fleet and restore it to economic strength and strategic capacity to fulfill its national obligations. We also seek to maximize the use of our nation's existing port facilities and shipbuilding and repair capability as a vital transportation resource that should be preserved in the best long-term interest of this country.

The American people benefit from regulatory reform. Air travelers now have a remarkable range of options, and flight is within reach of the average family budget. In the trucking business, increased competition has lowered prices and improved service.

The future of America's freight rail system is again bright. As a result of our reforms, the major private railroads have climbed back to profitability. Government red tape caused their red ink; by cutting the former, we are wiping out the latter. In addition, we transformed Conrail from a multi-billion dollar drain on the taxpayers into an efficient, competitive freight railroad. Returning Conrail as a financially sound single entity to private ownership, with service and jobs secure, will provide the nation with an improved rail freight system to promote economic growth. It will also return to the Treasury a significant portion of the taxpayers' investment, virtually unheard of for a federal project. We support improved passenger rail service where economically justified. We have made substantial progress in reducing the taxpayers' subsidy to Amtrak while maintaining services for which there is genuine demand. The Reagan Administration is selling the Alaska Railroad to the State of Alaska and transferring Conrail's commuter lines to the jurisdictions they serve.

The Republican Party believes that the nation's long-term economic growth will depend heavily on the adequacy of its public works infrastructure. We will continue to work to reverse the long-term decline that has occurred. We should foster development of better information on the magnitude and effectiveness of current federal, State and local government capital expenditures and innovative financing mechanisms which would improve our capacity to leverage limited federal funds more effectively.

America's leadership in space depends upon the vitality of free enterprise. That is why we encourage a commercial space-transportation industry. We share President Reagan's vision of a permanent manned space station within a decade, viewing it as the first stepping stone toward creating a multi-billion dollar private

economy in space. The permanent presence of man in space is crucial both to developing a visionary program of space commercialization and to creating an opportunity society on Earth of benefit to all mankind. We are, after all, the people who hewed roads out of the wilderness. Our families crossed ocean, prairie, and desert no less dangerous than today's space frontier to reach a new world of opportunity. And every route they took became a highway of liberty. Like them, we know where we are going: forward, toward a future in our hands. Because of them, and because of us, our children's children will use space transportation to build both prosperity and peace on earth.

Education and Youth

Our children are our hope and our future. For their sake, President Reagan has led a national renewal to get back to the "basics" and excellence in education. Young people have turned away from the rebellion of the 1960s and the pessimism of the 1970s. Their hopeful enthusiasm speaks better for a bright future than any government program.

During the Reagan Administration, we restored education to prominence in public policy. This change will clearly benefit our youth and our country. By using the spotlight of the Oval office, the Reagan Administration turned the nation's attention to the quality of education and gave its support to local and State improvement efforts. Parents and all segments of American society responded overwhelmingly to the findings of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, appointed by President Reagan. Its report, along with others from prominent experts and foundations, provided the impetus for educational reform.

Ronald Reagan's significant and innovative leadership has encouraged and sustained the reform movement. He catapulted education to the forefront of the national agenda and will be remembered as a president who improved education.

Unlike the Carter-Mondale Democrats, Republicans have levelled with parents and students about the problems we face together. We find remedies to these problems in the common sense of those most concerned: parents and local leaders. We support the decentralization necessary to put education back on the right track. We urge local school communities, including parents, teachers, students, administrators, and business and civic leaders, to evaluate school curricula — including extra-curricular activities and the time spent in them — and their ultimate effect upon students and the learning process. We recognize the need to get "back to basics" and applaud the dramatic improvements that this approach has already made in some jurisdictions.

In schools, school districts, and States throughout our land, the past year and one-half has been marked by unprecedented response to identified education de-

ficiencies. *The Nation Responds*, a recent report by the Reagan Administration, referred to a "tidalwave of school reform which promises to renew American education." According to that report:

- Forty-eight States are considering new high school graduation requirements and 35 have approved changes.

- Twenty-one States report initiatives to improve textbooks and instructional material.

- Eight States have applied lengthening the school day, seven are lengthening the school year, and 18 have mandates affecting the amount of time for instruction.

- Twenty-four States are examining master teacher or career ladder programs, and six have begun statewide or pilot programs.

- Thirteen States are considering changes in academic requirements for extra-curricular and athletic programs, and five have already adopted more rigorous standards.

Education is a matter of choice, and choice in education is inevitably political. All of education is a passing on of ideas from one generation to another. Since the storehouse of knowledge is vast, a selection must be made of what to pass on. Those doing the selecting bring with them their own politics. Therefore, the more centralized the selection process, the greater the threat of tyranny. The more diversified the selection process, the greater the chance for a thriving free marketplace of ideas as the best insurance for excellence in education.

We believe that education is a local function, a State responsibility, and a federal concern. The federal role in education should be limited. It includes helping parents and local authorities ensure high standards, protecting civil rights, and ensuring family rights. Ignoring that principle, from 1965 to 1980, the United States indulged in a disastrous experiment with centralized direction of our schools. During the Carter-Mondale Administration, spending continued to increase, but test scores steadily declined.

This decline was not limited to academic matters. Many schools lost sight of their traditional task of developing good character and moral discernment. The result for many was a decline in personal responsibility.

The key to the success of educational reform lies in accountability: for students, parents, educators, school boards, and all governmental units. All must be held accountable in order to achieve excellence in education. Restoring local control of education will allow parents to resume the exercise of their responsibility for the basic education, discipline, and moral guidance of their children.

Parents have the primary right and responsibility for the education of their children; and States, localities, and private institutions have the primary responsibility for supporting that parental role. America has been a land of opportunity because America has been a land of learning. It has

given us the most prosperous and dynamic society in the world.

The Republican Party recognizes the importance of good teachers, and we acknowledge the great effort many put forth to achieve excellence in the classroom. We applaud their numerous contributions and achievements in education. Unfortunately, many teachers are exhausted by their efforts to support excellence and elect to leave the classroom setting. Our best teachers have been frustrated by lowered standards, widespread indifference, and compensation below the true value of their contribution to society. In 1980-81 alone, 4 percent of the nation's math and science teachers quit the classroom. To keep the best possible teachers for our children, we support those education reforms which will result in increased student learning, including appropriate class sizes, appropriate and adequate learning and teaching materials, appropriate and consistent grading practices, and proper teacher compensation, including rewarding exceptional efforts and results in the classroom.

Classroom materials should be developed and produced by the private sector in the public marketplace, and then selections should be made at the State, local, and school levels.

We commend those States and local governments that have initiated challenging and rigorous high school programs, and we encourage all States to take initiatives that address the special educational needs of the gifted and talented.

We have enacted legislation to guarantee equal access to school facilities by student religious groups. Mindful of our religious diversity, we reaffirm our commitment to the freedoms of religion and speech guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and firmly support the rights of students to openly practice the same, including the right to engage in voluntary prayer in schools.

While much has been accomplished, the agenda is only begun. We must complete the block-grant process begun in 1981. We will return revenue sources to State and local governments to make them independent of federal funds and of the control that inevitably follows.

The Republican Party believes that developing the individual dignity and potential of disabled Americans is an urgent responsibility. To this end, the Republican Party commits itself to prompt and vigorous enforcement of the rights of disabled citizens, particularly those rights established under the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act. We insist on the highest standards of quality for services supported with federal funds.

In addition, government should seek out disabled persons and their parents to make them knowledgeable of their rights.

We will work toward providing federal funds to State and local governments sufficient to meet the degree of fiscal participa-

tion already promised in law.

We are committed to excellence in education for all our children within their own communities and neighborhoods. No child should be assigned to, or barred from, a school because of race.

In education, as in other activities, competition fosters excellence. We therefore support the President's proposal for tuition tax credits. We will convert the Chapter One grants to vouchers, thereby giving poor parents the ability to choose the best schooling available. Discrimination cannot be condoned, nor may public policies encourage its practice. Civil rights enforcement must not be twisted into excessive interference in the education process.

Teachers cannot teach and students cannot learn in an undisciplined environment. We applaud the President's promise to provide protection to teachers and administrators against suits from the unruly few who seek to disrupt the education of the overwhelming majority of students.

We urge the aggressive enforcement of the Protection of Pupil Rights amendment (also known as the Hatch Amendment, 20 U.S.C. 1232h) in order to protect pupils' and parents' rights. The amendment prohibits requiring any pupil to reveal personal or family information as part of any federally supported program, test, treatment, or psychological examination unless the school first obtains written consent of the pupil's parents.

The recent Grove City and Hillsdale College cases have raised questions about the extension of federal interference with private colleges, universities, and schools. Since federal aid, no matter how indirect, is now being linked to nearly every aspect of American life, great care must be taken in defining such terms as "federal financial assistance," "indirect" assistance, and "recipient" of assistance. We are deeply concerned that this kind of federal involvement in the affairs of some of the nation's fine private universities, colleges, and schools, many of which have remained stubbornly free of federal entanglements, can only bring with it unintended results. As the historical party of Lincoln and individual rights, we support enactment of legislation which would ensure protection of those covered under Title IX.

We urge States to establish partnerships with the scientific and business worlds to increase the number of teachers in these critical areas of learning. We also recognize a vast reservoir of talent and experience among retirees and other Americans competent to teach in these areas and ready to be tapped.

We endorse experiments with education such as enterprise zones and Cities-in-Schools. We reaffirm our commitment to wipe out illiteracy in our society. Further, we encourage the Congress and the States to reassess the process for aiding education, awarding funds on the basis of academic improvement rather than on daily attendance.

We are aware that good intentions do not always produce the desired results. We therefore urge our schools to evaluate their sex education programs to determine their impact on escalating teenage pregnancy rates. We urge that school officials take appropriate action to ensure parent involvement and responsibility in finding solutions to this national dilemma.

We support and encourage volunteerism in the schools. President Reagan's Adopt-a-School program is an example of how private initiative can revitalize our schools, particularly inner-city schools, and we commend him for his example.

Our emphasis on excellence includes the nation's colleges and universities. Although their achievements are unequalled in the world — in research, in proportion of citizens enrolled, in their contribution to our democratic society — we call upon them for accountability in good teaching and quality curricula that will ensure competent graduates in the world of work.

We pledge to keep our colleges and universities strong. They have been far too dependent on federal assistance and thus have been tied up in federal red tape. Their independence is an essential part of our liberty. Through regulatory reform, we are holding down the costs of higher education and reestablishing academic freedom from government. This is especially important for small schools, religious institutions, and the historically black colleges, for which President Reagan's Executive Order 12320 has meant new hope and vigor. We further reaffirm and support a regular Black College Day which honors a vital part of our educational community.

Republicans applaud the information explosion. This literacy-based knowledge revolution, made possible by computers, tapes, television, satellites, and other high technology innovations, buttressed by training programs through the business sector and foundations, is a tribute to American ingenuity. We urge our schools to educate for the ever-changing demands of our society and to resist using these innovations as substitutes for reasoning, logic, and mastery of basic skills.

We encourage excellence in the vocational and technical education that has contributed to the self-esteem and productivity of millions. We believe the best vocational and technical education programs are rooted in strong academic fundamentals. Business and industry stand ready to establish training partnerships with our schools. Their leadership is essential to keep America competitive in the future.

In an age when individuals may have four or five different jobs in their working career, vocational education and opportunities for adult learning will be more important than ever. The challenge of learning for citizenship and for work in an age of change will require new adaptations and innovations in the process of education. We urge the teaching profession and educational institutions at all levels to develop the maximum use of new learning opportu-

nities available through learning-focused high technology. This technology in education and in the workplace is making possible, and necessary, the continuing education of our adult population. The participation by adults in educational offerings within their communities will strengthen the linkages among the places where Americans live, work, and study.

Important as technology is, by itself it is inadequate for a free society. The arts and humanities flourish in the private sector, where a free market in ideas is the best guarantee of vigorous creativity. Private support for the arts and humanities has increased over the last four years, and we encourage its growth.

We support the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities in their efforts to correct past abuses and focus on developing the cultural values that are the foundation of our free society. We must ensure that these programs bring the arts and humanities to people in rural areas, the inner city poor, and other underserved populations.

Crime

One of the major responsibilities of government is to ensure the safety of its citizens. Their security is vital to their health and to the well-being of their neighborhoods and communities. The Reagan Administration is committed to making America safe for families and individuals. And Republican programs are paying dividends.

For the first time in the history of recorded federal crime statistics, rates of serious crime have dropped for two consecutive years. In 1983, the overall crime rate dropped 7 percent; and in 1982, the overall crime rate dropped 3 percent. In 1982 (the latest year for which figures are available), the murder rate dropped 5 percent, the robbery rate was down 6 percent, and forcible rape dropped 5 percent. Property crimes also declined: burglary decreased 9 percent, auto theft declined 2 percent, and theft dropped 1 percent.

Republicans believe that individuals are responsible for their actions. Those who commit crimes should be held strictly accountable by our system of justice. The primary objective of the criminal law is public safety; and those convicted of serious offenses must be jailed swiftly, surely, and long enough to assure public safety.

Republicans respect the authority of State and local law enforcement officials. The proper federal role is to provide strong support and coordination for their efforts and to vigorously enforce federal criminal laws. By concentrating on repeat offenders, we are determined to take career criminals off the street.

Additionally, the federal law enforcement budget has been increased by nearly 50 percent. We added 1,900 new investigators and prosecutors to the federal fight against crime. We arrested more offenders and sent more of them to prison. Convic-

tions in organized crime cases have tripled under the Reagan Administration. We set up task forces to strike at organized crime and narcotics. In the year since, 3,000 major drug traffickers have been indicted, and nearly 1,000 have already been convicted. We are helping local authorities search for missing children. We have a tough new law against child pornography. Republicans initiated a system for pooling information from local, State and federal law enforcement agencies: the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VI-CAP). Under this program, State and local agencies have the primary law enforcement responsibility, but cross-jurisdictional information is shared rapidly so that serial murderers and other violent criminals can be identified quickly and then apprehended.

Under the outstanding leadership of President Reagan and Vice President Bush's Task Force on Organized Crime, the Administration established the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System. We set up an aggressive Marijuana Eradication and Suppression Program, gave the FBI authority to investigate drugs, and coordinated FBI and DEA efforts. We reaffirm that the eradication of illegal drug traffic is a top national priority.

We have levelled with the American people about the involvement of foreign governments, especially Communist dictators, in narcotics traffic: Cuba, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria — and now the Sandinistas in Nicaragua — are international "pushers," selling slow death to young Americans in an effort to undermine our free society.

The Republican Party has deep concern about gratuitous sex and violence in the entertainment media, both of which contribute to the problem of crime against children and women. To the victims of such crimes who need protection, we gladly offer it.

We have begun to restore confidence in the criminal justice system. The Carter-Mondale legal policy had more concern for abstract criminal rights than for the victims of crime. It hurt those least able to defend themselves: the poor, the elderly, school children, and minorities. Republican leadership has redressed that imbalance. We have advanced such reforms as restitution by convicted criminals to their victims; providing victims with full explanations of what will occur before, during, and after trial; and assuring that they may testify at both trial and sentencing.

The Republican Senate has twice passed, with one dissenting vote, a comprehensive federal anti-crime package which would:

- Establish uniform, predictable and fair sentencing procedures, while abolishing the inconsistencies and anomalies of the current parole system;
- Strengthen the current bail procedures to allow the detention of dangerous criminals, who under current law are allowed to roam the streets pending trial;
- Increase dramatically the penalties for narcotic traffickers and enhance the ability

of society to recoup ill-gotten gains from drug trafficking;

- Narrow the overly broad insanity defense; and

- Provide limited assistance to states and localities for the implementation of anti-crime programs of proven effectiveness.

In addition, the Republican Senate has overwhelmingly passed Administration-backed legislation which would:

- Restore a federal constitutionally valid federal death penalty;
- Modify the exclusionary rule in a way recently approved by the Supreme Court; and
- Curtail abuses by prisoners of federal *habeas corpus* procedures.

The Democrat bosses of the House of Representatives have refused to allow a vote on our initiatives by the House Judiciary Committee, perennial graveyard for effective anti-crime legislation, or by the full House despite our pressure and the public's demand.

The best way to deter crime is to increase the probability of detection and to make punishment certain and swift. As a matter of basic philosophy, we advocate preventive rather than merely corrective measures. Republicans advocate sentencing reform and secure, adequate prison construction. We concur with the American people's approval of capital punishment where appropriate and will ensure that it is carried out humanely.

Republicans will continue to defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. When this right is abused and armed felonies are committed, we believe in stiff, mandatory sentencing. Law-abiding citizens exercising their constitutional rights must not be blamed for crime. Republicans will continue to seek repeal of legislation that restrains innocent citizens more than violent criminals.

Older Americans

We reaffirm our commitment to the financial security, physical well-being, and quality of life of older Americans. Valuing them as a treasure of wisdom and experience, we pledge to utilize their unique talents to the fullest.

During the Carter-Mondale years, the silent thief of inflation ruthlessly preyed on the elderly's savings and benefits, robbing them of their retirement dollars and making many dependent on government handouts.

No more. Due to the success of Reaganomics, a retiree's private pension benefits are worth almost \$1,000 more than if the 1980 inflation rate had continued. Average monthly Social Security benefits have increased by about \$180 for a couple and by \$100 a month for an individual. Because President Reagan forged a hard-won solution to the Social Security crisis, our elderly will not be repeatedly threatened with the program's impending bankruptcy as they were under the irresponsible policies of the Carter-Mondale Administra-

tion. We will work to repeal the Democrats' Social Security earnings-limitation, which penalizes the elderly by taking one dollar of their income for every two dollars earned.

Older Americans are vital contributors to society. We will continue to remove artificial barriers which discourage their participation in community life. We reaffirm our traditional opposition to mandatory retirement.

For those who are unable to care for themselves, we favor incentives to encourage home-based care.

We are combatting insidious crime against the elderly, many of whom are virtual prisoners in their own homes for fear of violence. We demand passage of the President's Comprehensive Crime Control package, stalled by the Democrat-controlled House Judiciary Committee. We support local initiatives to fight crime against the elderly.

Older Americans want to contribute, to live with the dignity and respect they have earned, and to have their special needs recognized. The Republican Party must never turn its back on our elderly, and we ensure that we will adequately provide for them during their golden years so they can continue to enjoy our country's high standard of living, which their labors have helped provide.

Advancing Opportunity

Throughout this Platform are initiatives to provide an opportunity ladder for the poor, particularly among minorities, in both urban and rural areas. Unlike the Carter-Mondale Administration that locked them into the welfare trap, Republicans believe compassion dictates our offering real opportunities to minorities and the urban poor to achieve the American Dream.

We have begun that effort; and as a pledge of its continuance, this Platform commits us, not to a war of class against class, but to a crusade for prosperity for all.

For far too long, the poor have been trapped by the policies of the Democratic Party which treat those in the ghetto as if their interests were somehow different from our own. That is unfair to us all and an insult to the needy. Their goals are ours; their aspirations we share.

To emphasize our common bond, we have addressed their needs in virtually every section of this Platform, rather than segregating them in a token plank. To those who would see the Republican future for urban America, and for those who deserve a better break, we offer the commitments that make up the sinew of this Platform.

Congress must pass enterprise zones, to draw a green line of prosperity around the red-lined areas of our cities and to help create jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities.

We offer the boldest breakthrough in housing policy since VA mortgages: we offer opportunities for private ownership of housing projects by the poor themselves.

We pledge comprehensive tax reform

that will give America back what was its post-war glory: a pro-family tax code with a dramatic work incentive for low-income and welfare families.

We offer hope, not despair; more opportunities for education through vouchers and tuition tax relief; and increased participation in the private enterprise system through the reform of counterproductive taxes and regulations.

Together with our emphatic commitment to civil rights, Republican programs will achieve, for those who feel left out of our society's progress, what President Reagan has already secured for our country: a new beginning to move America to full employment and honest money for all.

A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

In 1980, the Republican Party offered a vision of America's future that applied our traditions to today's problems. It is the vision of a society more free and more just than any in history. It required a break with the worn-out past, to redefine the role of government and its relationship with individuals and their institutions. Under President Reagan's leadership, the American people are making that vision a reality.

The American people want an opportunity society, not a welfare state. They want government to foster an environment in which individuals can develop their potential without hindrance.

The Constitution is the ultimate safeguard of individual rights. As we approach the Constitutional Bicentennial in 1987, Republicans are restoring its vitality, which had been transgressed by Democrats in Congress, the executive, and in the courts.

We are renewing the federal system, strengthening the States, and returning power to the people. That is the surest course to our common goal: a free and just society.

Individual Rights

The Republican Party is the party of equal rights. From its founding in 1854, we have promoted equality of opportunity.

The Republican Party reaffirms its support of the pluralism and freedom that have been part and parcel of this great country. In so doing, it repudiates and completely disassociates itself from people, organizations, publications, and entities which promulgate the practice of any form of bigotry, racism, anti-semitism, or religious intolerance.

Americans demand a civil rights policy premised on the letter of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That law requires equal rights; and it is our policy to end discrimination on account of sex, race, color, creed, or national origin. We have vigorously enforced civil rights statutes. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has recovered record amounts of back pay and other compensation for victims of employment discrimination.

Just as we must guarantee opportunity, we oppose attempts to dictate results. We will resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment. Quotas are the most insidious form of discrimination: reverse discrimination against the innocent. We must always remember that, in a free society, different individual goals will yield different results.

The Republican Party has an historic commitment to equal rights for women. Republicans pioneered the right of women to vote, and our party was the first major party to advocate equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

President Reagan believes, as do we, that all members of our party are free to work individually for women's progress. As a party, we demand that there be no detriment to that progress or inhibition of women's rights to full opportunity and advancement within this society.

Participation by women in policymaking is a strong commitment by the Republican Party and by President Reagan. He pledged to appoint a woman to the United States Supreme Court. His promise was not made lightly; and when a vacancy occurred, he quickly filled it with the eminently qualified Sandra Day O'Connor of Arizona.

His Administration has also sought the largest number of women in history to serve in appointive positions within the executive branch of government. Three women serve at Cabinet level, the most ever in history. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Elizabeth Dole, Secretary of Transportation, and Margaret Heckler, Secretary of Health and Human Services, head a list of over 1,600 women who direct policy and operations of the federal government.

The Republican Party continues to search for interested and qualified women for all government positions. We will continue to increase the number of first-time appointments for women serving in government at all levels.

Our record of economic recovery and growth is an additional important accomplishment for women. It provides a stark contrast to the Carter-Mondale legacy to women: a shrinking economy, limited job opportunities, and a declining standard of living.

Whether working in or outside the home, women have benefitted enormously from the economic progress of the past four years. The Republican economic expansion added over six million new jobs to the economy. It increased labor force participation by women to historic highs. Women's employment has risen by almost four and one-half million since the last Carter-Mondale year. They obtained almost one million more new jobs than men did. Economic growth due to Republican economic policies has produced a record number of jobs so that women who want to work outside the home now have unmatched opportunity. In fact, more than 50 percent of all women now have jobs outside the home.

The spectacular decline in inflation has immeasurably benefitted women working both in and outside the home. Under President Reagan, the cost increase in everyday essentials — food, clothing, housing, utilities — has been cut from the Carter-Mondale highs of over 10 percent a year to just over 4 percent today. We have ushered in an era of price stability that is stretching take-home pay hundreds of dollars farther. In 1982, for the first time in 10 years, women experienced a real increase in wages over inflation.

Lower interest rates have made it possible for more women, single and married, to own their homes and to buy their own automobiles and other consumer goods.

Our 25 percent reduction in marginal tax rates provided important benefits to women, as did the virtual elimination of the "widow's tax" which had jeopardized retirement savings of senior women. At the same time, we raised the maximum child care tax credit from \$400 to \$720 per family. We will continue to actively seek the elimination of discrimination against homemakers with regard to Individual Retirement Accounts so that single-income couples can invest the same amount in IRAs as two-income couples.

In addition, President Reagan has won enactment of the Retirement Equity Act of 1984. That legislation, strongly supported by congressional Republicans, makes a comprehensive reform of private pension plans to recognize the special needs of women.

Our record of accomplishment during the last four years is clear, but we intend to do even better over the next four.

We will further reduce the "marriage penalty," a burden upon two-income, working families. We will work to remove artificial impediments in business and industry, such as occupational licensing laws, that limit job opportunities for women, minorities, and youth or prevent them from entering the labor force in the first place.

For low-income women, the Reagan Administration has already given States and localities the authority, through the Job Training Partnership Act, to train more recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children for permanent, not make-work, jobs. We have increased child support collections from \$1.5 billion to \$2.4 billion and enacted a strong child support enforcement law. We will continue to stress welfare reforms which promote individual initiative, the real solution to breaking the cycle of welfare dependency.

With women comprising an increasing share of the work force, it is essential that the employment opportunities created by our free market system be open to individuals without regard to their sex, race, religion, or ethnic origin. We firmly support an equal opportunity approach which gives women and minorities equal access to all jobs — including the traditionally higher-paying technical, managerial, and professional positions — and which guarantees that workers in those jobs will be compensated in accordance with the laws requiring

equal pay for equal work under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

We are creating an environment in which individual talents and creativity can be tapped to the fullest, while assuring that women have equal opportunity, security, and real choices for the promising future. For all Americans, we demand equal pay for equal work. With equal emphasis, we oppose the concept of "comparable worth." We believe that the free market system can determine the value of jobs better than any government authority.

The Department of Justice has identified 140 federal statutes with gender-based distinctions. Proposed legislation will correct all but 18; six are still under study; the rest, which actually favor women, will remain as is. President Reagan's Fifty States Project, designed to identify State laws discriminating against women, has encouraged 42 States to start searches, and 26 have begun amending their laws. The Department has filed more cases dealing with sex discrimination in employment than were filed during a comparable period in the Carter-Mondale Administration.

Working with Republicans in Congress, President Reagan has declared 1983-1992 the Decade of Disabled Persons. All Americans stand to gain when disabled citizens are assured equal opportunity.

The Reagan Administration has an outstanding record in achieving accessibility for the handicapped. During the past two years, minimum guidelines have at last been adopted, and the Uniform Federal Accessibility Standard has become fact.

The Republican Party realizes the great potential of members of the disabled community in this country. We support all efforts being made at the federal level to remove artificial barriers from our society so that disabled individuals may reach their potential and participate at the maximum level of their abilities in education, employment, and recreation. This includes the removal, in so far as practicable, of architectural, transportation, communication and attitudinal barriers. We also support efforts to provide disabled Americans full access to voting facilities.

We deplore discrimination because of handicap. The Reagan Administration was the first to combat the insidious practice of denying medical care or even food and water to disabled infants. This issue has vast implications for medical ethics, family autonomy, and civil rights. But we find no basis, whether in law or medicine or ethics, for denying necessities to an infant because of the child's handicap.

We are committed to enforcing statutory prohibitions barring discrimination against any otherwise qualified handicapped individuals, in any program receiving federal financial assistance, solely by reason of their handicap.

We recognize the need for watchful care regarding the procedural due process rights of persons with handicaps both to prevent their placement into inappropriate programs or settings and to ensure that their rights are represented by guardians

or other advocates, if necessary.

For handicapped persons who need care, we favor family-based care where possible, supported by appropriate and adequate incentives. We increased the tax credit for caring for dependents or spouses physically or mentally unable to care for themselves. We also provided a deduction of up to \$1,500 per year for adopting a child with special needs that may otherwise make adoption difficult.

We are committed to seeking out gifted children and their parents to make them knowledgeable of their educational rights.

We reaffirm the right of all individuals freely to form, join, or assist labor organizations to bargain collectively, consistent with State laws and free from unnecessary government involvement. We support the fundamental principle of fairness in labor relations. We will continue the Reagan Administration's "open door" policy toward organized labor and its leaders. We reaffirm our long-standing support for the right of States to enact "Right-to-Work" laws under section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The political freedom of every worker must be protected. Therefore, we strongly oppose the practice of using compulsory dues and fees for partisan political purposes. Also, the protection of all workers must be secured. Therefore, no worker should be coerced by violence or intimidation by any party to a labor dispute.

The healthy mix of America's ethnic, cultural, and social heritage has always been the backbone of our nation and its progress throughout our history. Without the contributions of innumerable ethnic and cultural groups, our country would not be where it is today.

For millions of black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and members of other minority groups, the past four years have seen a dramatic improvement in their ability to secure for themselves and for their children a better tomorrow.

That is the American Dream. The policies of the Reagan Administration have opened up millions of doors of opportunity for these Americans, doors which either did not exist or were rapidly being slammed shut by the no-growth policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration.

We Republicans are proud of our efforts on behalf of all minority groups, and we pledge to do even more during the next four years.

We will continue to press for enactment of economic and social policies that promote growth and stress individual initiative of minority Americans. Our tax system will continue to be overhauled and reformed by making it fairer and simpler, enabling the families of minorities to work and save for their future. We will continue to push for passage of enterprise zone legislation, now bottled up in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives. That bill, discussed elsewhere in this platform, will help minority Americans living in cit-

ies and urban areas to get jobs, to start their own businesses, and to reap the fruits of entrepreneurship by tapping their individual initiative, energy, and creativity.

We honor and respect the contributions of minority Americans and will do all we can to see that our diversity is enhanced during the next four years. Active contributions by minorities are the threads that weave the fabric that is America and make us stronger as a nation. We recognize these individuals and their contributions and will continue to promote the kinds of policies that will make their dreams for a better America a reality. The party of Lincoln will remain the party of equal rights for all.

We continue to favor whatever legislation may be necessary to permit American citizens residing in the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico to vote for president and vice president in national elections.

We support the right of Indian Tribes to manage their own affairs and resources. Recognizing the government-to-government trust responsibility, we are equally committed to working towards the elimination of the conditions of dependency produced by federal control. The social and economic advancement of Native Americans depends upon changes they will chart for themselves. Recognizing their diversity, we support the President's policy of responsibly removing impediments to their self-sufficiency. We urge the nations of the Americas to learn from our past mistakes and to protect native populations from exploitation and abuse.

Native Hawaiians are the only indigenous people of our country who are not officially designated as Native Americans. They should share that honored title. We endorse efforts to preserve their culture as a unique element in the human tapestry that is America.

Family Protection

Republicans affirm the family as the natural and indispensable institution for human development. A society is only as strong as its families, for they nurture those qualities necessary to maintain and advance civilization.

Healthy families inculcate values — integrity, responsibility, concern for others — in our youth and build social cohesion. We give high priority to their well-being. During the 1970s, America's families were plagued by worsening economic conditions and a Washington elite unconcerned with them.

We support the concept of creating Family Education Accounts which would allow tax-deferred savings for investment in America's most crucial asset, our children, to assist low- and middle-income families in becoming self-reliant in meeting the costs of higher education.

In addition, to further assist the young families of America in securing the dream of homeownership, we would like to review the concept of Family Housing Accounts which would allow tax-deferred savings for a

family's first home.

Preventing family dissolution, a leading cause of poverty, is vital. It has had a particularly tragic impact on the elderly, women, and minorities. Welfare programs have devastated low-income families and induced single parenthood among teens. We will review legislation and regulations to examine their impact on families and on parental rights and responsibilities. We seek to eliminate incentives for family break-up and to reverse the alarming rate of pregnancy outside marriage. Meanwhile, the Republican Party believes that society must do all that is possible to guarantee those young parents the opportunity to achieve their full educational and parental potential.

Because of Republican tax cuts, single people and married people without dependents will have in 1984 basically the same average tax rates they had in 1960. The marriage penalty has been reduced. However, a couple with dependents still pays a greater portion of their income in taxes than in 1960. We reaffirm that the personal exemption for children be no less than for adults, and we will at least double its current level. The President's tax program also increased tax credits for child care expenses. We will encourage private sector initiatives to expand on-site child care facilities and options for working parents.

The problem of physical and sexual abuse of children and spouses requires careful consideration of its causes. In particular, gratuitous sex and violence in entertainment media contribute to this sad development.

We and the vast majority of Americans are repulsed by pornography. We will vigorously enforce constitutional laws to control obscene materials which degrade everyone, particularly women, and depict the exploitation of children. We commend the Reagan Administration for creating a commission on pornography and the President for signing the new law to eliminate child pornography. We stand with our President in his determination to solve the problem.

We call upon the Federal Communications Commission, and all other federal, State, and local agencies with proper authority, to strictly enforce the law regarding cable pornography and to implement rules and regulations to clean up cable pornography and the abuse of telephone service for obscene purposes.

Immigration

Our history is a story about immigrants. We are proud that America still symbolizes hope and promise to the world. We have shown unparalleled generosity to the persecuted and to those seeking a better life. In return, they have helped to make a great land greater still.

We affirm our country's absolute right to control its borders. Those desiring to enter must comply with our immigration laws. Failure to do so not only is an offense to the American people but it is fundamentally unjust to those in foreign lands

patiently waiting for legal entry. We will preserve the principle of family reunification.

With the estimates of the number of illegal aliens in the United States ranging as high as 12 million and better than one million more entering each year, we believe it is critical that responsible reforms of our immigration laws be made to enable us to regain control of our borders.

The flight of oppressed people in search of freedom has created pressures beyond the capacity of any one nation. The refugee problem is global and requires the cooperation of all democratic nations. We commend the President for encouraging other countries to assume greater refugee responsibilities.

Our Constitutional System

Our Constitution, now almost 200 years old, provides for a federal system, with a separation of powers among the three branches of the national government. In that system, judicial power must be exercised with deference towards State and local officials; it must not expand at the expense of our representative institutions. It is not a judicial function to reorder the economic, political, and social priorities of our nation. The intrusion of the courts into such areas undermines the stature of the judiciary and erodes respect for the rule of law. Where appropriate, we support congressional efforts to restrict the jurisdiction of federal courts.

We commend the President for appointing federal judges committed to the rights of law-abiding citizens and traditional family values. We share the public's dissatisfaction with an elitist and unresponsive federal judiciary. If our legal institutions are to regain respect, they must respect the people's legitimate interests in a stable, orderly society. In his second term, President Reagan will continue to appoint Supreme Court and other federal judges who share our commitment to judicial restraint.

The Republican Party firmly believes that the best governments are those most accountable to the people. We heed Thomas Jefferson's warning: "When all government, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another."

For more responsible government, non-essential federal functions should be returned to the States and localities whenever prudent. They have the capability, knowledge, and sensitivity to local needs required to better administer and deliver public services. Their diverse problems require local understanding. The transfer of rights, responsibilities, and revenues to the "home front" will recognize the abilities of local government and the limitations of a distant federal government.

We commend the President for the bold initiatives of his "New Federalism." The enacted block grants discussed else-

where in this Platform are a positive step. But the job of making government more accountable to the people has just begun. We strongly favor the expansion of block-grant funding and other means to restore our nation's federal foundation.

More than 40 years ago, a grave injustice was done to many Americans of Japanese ancestry. Uprooted from their homes in a time of crisis, loyal citizens and residents were treated in a way which contravened the fundamental principles of our people. We join them and their descendants in assuring that the deprivation of rights they suffered shall never again be permitted in this land of liberty.

To benefit all Americans, we support the privatization of government services whenever possible. This maximizes consumer freedom and choice. It reduces the size and cost of government, thus lessening the burden on taxpayers. It stimulates the private sector, increases prosperity, and creates jobs. It demonstrates the primacy of individual action which, within a free market economy, can address human needs most effectively.

Within the executive branch, the Reagan Administration has made government work more efficiently. Under the direction of the Office of Personnel Management, non-defense government employment was reduced by over 100,000. The overwhelming majority of federal employees are dedicated and hard-working. Indeed, we have proposed to base their pay and retention upon performance so that outstanding federal employees may be properly rewarded.

The federal government owns almost a third of our nation's land. With due recognition of the needs of the federal government and mindful of environmental, recreational, and national defense needs, we believe the sale of some surplus land will increase productivity and increase State and local tax bases. It will also unleash the creative talents of free enterprise in defense of resource and environmental protection.

The expression of individual political views is guaranteed by the First Amendment; government should protect, not impinge upon First Amendment rights. Free individuals must have unrestricted access to the process of self-government. We deplore the growing labyrinth of bewildering regulations and obstacles which have increased the power of political professionals and discouraged the participation of average Americans. Even well-intentioned restrictions on campaign activity stifle free speech and have a chilling effect on spontaneous political involvement by our citizens.

The holding of public office in our country demands the highest degree of commitment to integrity, openness, and honesty by candidates running for all elective offices. Without such a commitment, public confidence rapidly erodes. Republicans, therefore, reaffirm our commitment to the fair and consistent application of financial disclosure laws. We will continue our support for financial disclosure by all high officials of the government and candidates

in positions of public trust. This extends to the financial holdings of spouses or dependents, of which the official has knowledge, financial interest, or benefit. We will continue to hold all public officials to the highest ethical standards and will oppose the inconsistent application of those standards on the basis of gender.

Republicans want to encourage, not restrict, free discourse and association. The interplay of concerned individuals, sometimes acting collectively to pursue their goals, has led to healthy and vigorous debate and better understanding of complex issues. We will remove obstacles to grassroots participation in federal elections and will reduce, not increase, the federal role.

Republicans believe that strong, competitive political parties contribute mightily to coherent national policies, effective representation, and responsive government. Forced taxpayer financing of campaign activities is political tyranny. We oppose it.

In light of the inhibiting role federal election laws and regulations have had, Congress should consider abolishing the Federal Election Commission.

We are the party of limited government. We are deeply suspicious of the amount of information which governments collect. Governments limited in size and scope best ensure our people's privacy. Particularly in the computer age, we must ensure that no unnecessary information is demanded and that no disclosure is made which is not approved. We oppose national identification cards.

We support reasonable methods to fight those who undermine national security, prevent crosschecks of government benefit records to conceal welfare fraud, or misuse financial secrecy laws to hide their narcotics profits under the guise of a right to privacy.

Private property is the cornerstone of our liberty and the free enterprise system. The right of property safeguards for citizens all things of value: their land, merchandise and money, their religion, convictions, their safety and liberty, and their right of contract to produce, sell goods and services. Republicans reaffirm the God-given and inalienable right.

The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We therefore reaffirm our support for a human life amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protection applies to unborn children. We oppose the use of public revenues for abortion and will eliminate funding for organizations which advocate or support abortions. We commend the efforts of those individuals and religious and private organizations that are providing positive alternatives to abortion by meeting the physical, emotional, and financial needs of pregnant women and offering adoption services where needed.

We applaud President Reagan's fine record of judicial appointments, and we reaffirm our support for the appointment of

judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

AMERICA SECURE AND THE WORLD AT PEACE

The Future of Our Foreign Policy

President Reagan has restored the American people's faith in the principles of liberal democracy. Today, we have more confidence in the self-evident truths of democracy than at any time since World War II.

The first principle of that faith is that all human beings are created equal in the natural human right to govern themselves.

Just as we assert the right of self-government, it follows that all people throughout the world should enjoy that same human right. This moral principle must be the ideal by which our policy toward other nations is directed.

We Republicans emphasize that there is a profound moral difference between the actions and ideals of Marxist-Leninist regimes and those of democratic governments, and we reject the notions of guilt and apology which animate so much of the foreign policy of the Democratic Party. We believe American foreign policy can only succeed when it is based on unquestioned faith in a single idea: the idea that all human beings are created equal, the founding idea of democracy.

The supreme purpose of our foreign policy must be to maintain our freedom in a peaceful international environment in which the United States and our allies and friends are secure against military threats, and democratic governments are flourishing in a world of increasing prosperity.

This we pledge to our people and to future generations: we shall keep the peace by keeping our country stronger than any potential adversary.

The Americas

The Americas are intimately tied to the United States. Family, language, culture, and trade link us closely with both Canada, our largest trading partner, and our southern neighbors.

The people of both Mexico and Canada are of fundamental importance to the people of the United States of America, not just because we share a common border, but because we are peoples who share both history and a common interest for the present and future. Under President Reagan, our relations with both countries are being carried out in a serious, straight-forward manner in a climate of mutual respect. As our countries seek solutions to common problems on the basis of our mutual interests, we recognize that each country has a unique contribution to make in working together to resolve mutual problems.

The security and freedom of Central America are indispensable to our own. In

addition to our concern for the freedom and overall welfare of our neighbors to the south, two-thirds of our foreign trade passes through the Caribbean and the Panama Canal. The entire region, however, is gravely threatened by Communist expansion, inspired and supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba. We endorse the principles of the Monroe Doctrine as the strongest foundation for United States policy throughout the hemisphere.

We encourage even closer ties with the countries of South America and consider the strengthening of representative governments there as a contribution to the peace and security of us all. We applaud the Organization of American States for its efforts to bring peace and freedom to the entire hemisphere.

Republicans have no illusions about Castro's brutal dictatorship in Cuba. Only our firmness will thwart his attempts to export terrorism and subversion, to destroy democracy, and to smuggle narcotics into the United States. But we also extend a constructive, hopeful policy toward the Cuban people. Castro resents and resists their desire for freedom. He fears Radio Marti, President Reagan's initiative to bring truth to our Cuban neighbors. He is humiliated by the example of Cuban-born Americans, whose spiritual and material accomplishments contrast starkly with Communist failures in their birthplace. We believe in friendship between the Cuban and the American peoples, and we envision a genuine democracy in Cuba's future.

We support the President in following the unanimous findings of the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, first proposed by the late Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington.

Today, democracy is under assault throughout the hemisphere. Marxist Nicaragua threatens not only Costa Rica and Honduras, but also El Salvador and Guatemala. The Sandinista regime is building the largest military force in Central America, importing Soviet equipment, Eastern bloc and PLO advisers, and thousands of Cuban mercenaries. The Sandinista government has been increasingly brazen in its embrace of Marxism-Leninism. The Sandinistas have systematically persecuted free institutions, including synagogue and church, schools, the private sector, the free press, minorities, and families and tribes throughout Nicaragua. We support continued assistance to the democratic freedom fighters in Nicaragua. Nicaragua cannot be allowed to remain a Communist sanctuary, exporting terror and arms throughout the region. We condemn the Sandinista government's smuggling of illegal drugs into the United States as a crime against American society and international law.

The heroic effort to build democracy in El Salvador has been brutally attacked by Communist guerrillas supported by Cuba and the Sandinistas. Their violence jeopardizes improvements in human rights, delays economic growth, and impedes the consolidation of democracy. El Salvador is nearer to Texas than to New England,

and we cannot be indifferent to its fate. In the tradition of President Truman's postwar aid to Europe, President Reagan has helped the people of El Salvador defend themselves. Our opponents object to that assistance, citing concern for human rights. We share that concern, and more than that, we have taken steps to help curb abuses. We have firmly and actively encouraged human rights reform, and results have been achieved. In judicial reform, the murderers of the American nuns in 1980 have been convicted and sentenced; and in political reform, the right to vote has been exercised by 80 percent of the voters in the fair, open elections of 1982 and 1984. Most important, if the Communists seize power there, human rights will be extinguished, and tens of thousands will be driven from their homes. We, therefore, support the President in his determination that the Salvadoran people will shape their own future.

We affirm President Reagan's declaration at Normandy: there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest and territorial expansion. We applaud the liberation of man and mind from oppression everywhere.

We applaud the liberation of Grenada, and we honor those who took part in it. Grenada is small, and its people few; but we believe the principle established there, that freedom is worth defending, is of monumental importance. It challenges the Brezhnev doctrine. It is an example to the world.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative is a sound program for the strengthening of democratic institutions through economic development based on free people and free market principles. The Republican Party strongly supports this program of integrated, mutually reinforcing measures in the fields of trade, investment, and financial assistance.

We recognize our special-valued relationship with Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands; and we will support special measures to ensure that they will benefit and prosper from the Caribbean Basin Initiative, thereby reinforcing a stronghold of democracy and free enterprise in the Caribbean. The Republican Party reaffirms its support of the right of Puerto Rico to be admitted into the Union after it freely so determines, through the passage of an admission bill which will provide for a smooth fiscal transition, recognize the concept of a multicultural society for its citizens, and secure the opportunity to retain their Spanish language and traditions.

The Soviet Union

Stable and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union are possible and desirable, but they depend upon the credibility of American strength and determination. As our power waned in the 1970s, our very weakness was provocative. The Soviets exploited it in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. Our policy of peace through

strength encourages freedom-loving people everywhere and provides hope for those who look toward one day to enjoying the fruits of self-government.

We hold a sober view of the Soviet Union. Its globalist ideology and its leadership obsessed with military power make it a threat to freedom and peace on every continent. The Carter-Mondale Administration ignored that threat, and the Democratic candidates underestimate it today. The Carter-Mondale illusion that the Soviet leaders share our ideals and aspirations is not only false but a profound danger to world peace.

Republicans reaffirm our belief that Soviet behavior at the negotiating table cannot be divorced from Soviet behavior elsewhere. Over-eagerness to sign agreements with the Soviets at any price, fashionable in the Carter-Mondale Administration, should never blind us to this reality. Any future agreement with the Soviets must require full compliance, be fully verifiable, and contain suitable sanctions for non-compliance. Carter-Mondale efforts to cover up Soviet violations of the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitations agreement and Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty emboldened the Soviets to strengthen their military posture. We condemn these violations, as well as recent violations of chemical and toxic weapons treaties in Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, and the Iran-Iraq war. We insist on full Soviet compliance with all treaties and executive agreements.

We seek to deflect Soviet policy away from aggression and toward peaceful international conduct. To that end, we will seek substantial reductions in nuclear weapons, rather than merely freezing nuclear weapons at their present dangerous level. We will continue multilateral efforts to deny advanced Western technology to the Soviet war machine.

We will press for Soviet compliance with all international agreements, including the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights. We will continue to protest Soviet anti-semitism and human rights violations. We admire the courage of such people as Andrei Sakharov, his wife Yelena Bonner, Anatole Shcharansky, Ida Nudel and Josef Begun, whose defiance of Soviet repression stands as a testament to the greatness of the human spirit. We will press the Soviet Union to permit free emigration of Jews, Christians, and oppressed national minorities. Finally, because the peoples of the Soviet empire share our hope for the future, we will strengthen our information channels to encourage them in their struggle for individual freedom, national self-determination, and peace.

Europe

Forty years after D-Day, our troops remain in Europe. It has been a long watch, but a successful one. For four decades, we have kept the peace where, twice before, our valiant fought and died. We learned from their sacrifice.

We would be in mortal danger were

Western Europe to come under Soviet domination. Fragmenting NATO is the immediate objective of the Soviet military buildup and Soviet subversion. During the Carter-Mondale years, the Soviets gained a substantial military and diplomatic advantage in Europe. They now have three times as many tanks as we do and almost a monopoly on long-range theater nuclear forces. To keep the peace, the Reagan-Bush Administration is offsetting the Soviet military threat with the defensive power of the Alliance. We are deploying Pershing II and Cruise missiles. Remembering the Nazi Reich, informed voters on both sides of the Atlantic know they cannot accept Soviet military superiority in Europe. That is why the British, Italian, and West German parliaments have approved Euromissile deployments, and why new NATO base agreements were concluded successfully in Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and Greece. This is a victory for the Reagan-Bush Administration and our European friends.

The United States again leads the Alliance by offering hope of a safer future. As America's strength is restored, so is our allies' confidence in the future of freedom. We will encourage them to increase their contributions to our common defense.

To strengthen NATO's Southern Flank, we place the highest priority on resolving the Cyprus dispute and maintaining our support for both Greece and Turkey, with non-recognition of regimes imposed in occupied territory. We share a deep concern for peace and justice in Northern Ireland and condemn all violence and terrorism in that strife-torn land.

We stand in solidarity with the peoples of Eastern Europe: the Poles, Hungarians, East Germans, Czechs, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Armenians, and all captive nations who struggle daily against their Soviet masters. The heroic efforts of Lech Walesa and the Solidarity movement in Poland are an inspiration to all people yearning to be free. We are not neutral in their struggle, wherever the flame of liberty brightens the black night of Soviet oppression.

The tragic repression of the Polish people by the Soviet-inspired military dictatorship in Poland has touched the American people. We support policies to provide relief for Polish nationals seeking asylum and refuge in the United States.

The Middle East

President Reagan's Middle East policy has been flexible enough to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances, yet consistent and credible so that all nations recognize our determination to protect our vital interests. The President's skillful crisis management throughout the Iran-Iraq war has kept that conflict from damaging our vital interests. His peace efforts have won strong bipartisan support and international applause. And his willingness to stand up to Libya has made peace-loving states in the region feel more secure.

The 1980 hot invasion of Afghani-

stan, which surprised the Carter-Mondale Administration, brought Soviet forces less than 400 miles from the strategic Straits of Hormuz. The seizure of American hostages in Iran that year caught the United States unprepared and unable to respond. Lebanon is still in turmoil, despite our best efforts to foster stability in that unhappy country. With the Syrian leadership increasingly subject to Soviet influence, and the Palestine Liberation Organization and its homicidal subsidiaries taking up residence in Syria, U.S. policy toward the region must remain vigilant and strong. Republicans reaffirm that the United States should not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as that organization continues to promote terrorism, rejects Israel's right to exist, and refuses to accept U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

The bedrock of that protection remains, as it has for over three decades, our moral and strategic relationship with Israel. We are allies in the defense of freedom. Israel's strength, coupled with United States assistance, is the main obstacle to Soviet domination of the region. The sovereignty, security, and integrity of the state of Israel are moral imperatives. We pledge to help maintain Israel's qualitative military edge over its adversaries.

Today, relations between the United States and Israel are closer than ever before. Under President Reagan, we have moved beyond mere words to extensive political, military, and diplomatic cooperation. U.S.-Israeli strategic planning groups are coordinating our joint defense efforts, and we are directly supporting projects to augment Israel's defense industrial base. We support the legislation pending for an Israel-U.S. free trade area.

We recognize that attacks in the U.N. against Israel are but thinly disguised attacks against the United States, for it is our shared ideals and democratic way of life that are their true target. Thus, when a U.N. agency denied Israel's right to participate, we withheld our financial support until that action was corrected. As we have worked behind the scenes and in other international organizations to defeat discriminatory attacks against the

Our determination to participate actively in the peace process begun at Camp David has won us support over the past four years from moderate Arab states. Israel's partner in the Camp David accords, Egypt, with American support, has been a constructive participant. We pledge continued support to Egypt and other moderate regimes against Soviet and Libyan subversion, and we look to them to contribute to our efforts for a long-term settlement of the region's destructive disputes.

We believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths.

Asia and the Pacific

Free Asia is a tremendous success. Emulating the United States economically

and politically, our friends in East Asia have had the world's highest economic growth rates. Their economies represent the dynamism of free markets and free people, in stark contrast to the dreary rigidity and economic failures of centrally planned socialism. U.S. investments in Asia now exceed \$30 billion, and our annual trade surpasses that with any other region.

Unable to match this progress, the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Vietnam threaten the region with military aggression and political intimidation. The Soviet rape of Afghanistan, the criminal destruction of the KAL airliner, the genocide in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the steady growth of Soviet SS-20 forces in East Asia, the rapid increase of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, the continuing build-up of North Korean forces and the brutal bombing of South Korean leaders in Rangoon, the recent deployment of Soviet forces at Cam Ranh Bay, the continued occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese, and chemical and biological weapons attacks against defenseless civilian populations in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia are some of the more obvious threats to the peace of Asia and to America's friends there.

Republicans salute the brave people of Afghanistan, struggling to regain their freedom and independence. We will continue to support the freedom fighters and pledge our continuing humanitarian aid to the thousands of Afghan refugees who have sought sanctuary in Pakistan and elsewhere.

To preserve free Asia's economic gains and enhance our security, we will continue economic and security assistance programs with the frontline states of Korea, Thailand, and Pakistan. We will maintain defense facilities in Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and the Indian Ocean to protect vital sea lanes.

We will promote economic growth while we strengthen human rights and the commitment to both democracy and free markets. We will help friendly nations deal with refugees and secure their help against drug production and trafficking.

America's relations with Japan are central to our security in the Far East, and they have never been better. The world's second-largest industrial power can make an increasingly important contribution to peace and economic development over much of Asia. We applaud Japan's commitment to defend its territory, air space, and sea lanes. We are particularly pleased to see increases in defense spending and our intent to further expand its contributions to the region's defense. We have made progress in our trade relations and affirm that, with good will on both sides, broader agreement is likely.

In keeping with the pledge of the 1980 Platform, President Reagan has continued the process of developing our relationship with the People's Republic of China. We commend the President's initiatives to build a solid foundation for the long-term relations between the United States and the People's Republic, emphasizing peace-

ful trade and other policies to promote regional peace. Despite fundamental differences in many areas, both nations share an important common objective: opposition to Soviet expansionism.

At the same time, we specifically reaffirm our concern for, and our moral commitment to, the safety and security of the 18 million people on Taiwan. We pledge that this concern will be constant, and we will continue to regard any attempt to alter Taiwan's status by force as a threat to regional peace. We endorse, with enthusiasm, President Reagan's affirmation that it is the policy of the United States to support and fully implement the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act. In addition, we fully support self determination for the people of Hong Kong.

The Republic of Korea is a stalwart ally. To deter aggression, we will maintain our forces there which contribute to our common defense. Our growing economic relations are good for both countries and enhance our influence to foster a democratic evolution there.

We prize our special relationship with the Philippines. We will make every effort to promote the economic development and democratic principles they seek. Because the Clark and Subic Bay bases are vital to American interests in the Western Pacific, we are committed to their continued security.

We recognize the close and special ties we have maintained with Thailand since the days of Abraham Lincoln. Thailand stands tall against the imperialist aggression of Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia.

We hail the economic achievements of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. We will strengthen economic and political ties to them and support their opposition to the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

Almost a decade after our withdrawal from Vietnam, thousands of Americans still do not know the fate of their fathers, brothers, and sons missing in action. Our united people call upon Vietnam and Laos with one voice: return our men, end the grief of the innocent, and give a full accounting of our POW-MIAs. We will press for access to investigate crash sites throughout Indochina. We support the efforts of our private citizens who have worked tirelessly for many years on this issue.

Africa

Africa faces a new colonialism. The tripartite axis of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Libya has unleashed war and privation upon the continent. We are committed to democracy in Africa and to the economic development that will help it flourish. That is why we will foster free-market, growth-oriented, and liberalized trading policies.

As part of reforming the policies of the International Development Association, we have assisted in directing a larger proportion of its resources to sub-Saharan Africa. To nurture the spirit of individual initia-

tive in Africa, our newly created African Development Foundation will work with African entrepreneurs at the village level. In addition, through our rejection of the austerity programs of international organizations, we are bringing new hope to the people of Africa that they will join in the benefits of the growing, dynamic world economy.

We will continue to provide necessary security and economic assistance to African nations with which we maintain good relations to help them develop the infrastructure of democratic capitalism so essential to economic growth and individual accomplishment. We will encourage our allies in Europe and east Asia to coordinate their assistance efforts so that the industrialized countries will be able to contribute effectively to the economic development of the continent. We believe that, if given the choice, the nations of Africa will reject the model of Marxist state-controlled economies in favor of the prosperity and quality of life that free economies and free people can achieve.

We will continue to assist threatened African governments to protect themselves and will work with them to protect their continent from subversion and to safeguard their strategic minerals. The Reagan-Bush Administration will continue its vigorous efforts to achieve Namibian independence and the expulsion of Cubans from occupied Angola.

We reaffirm our commitment to the rights of all South Africans. Apartheid is repugnant. In South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, we support well-conceived efforts to foster peace, prosperity, and stability.

Foreign Assistance and Regional Security

Developing nations look to the United States for counsel and guidance in achieving economic opportunity, prosperity, and political freedom. Democratic capitalism has demonstrated, in the United States and elsewhere, an unparalleled ability to achieve political and civil rights and long-term prosperity for ever-growing numbers of people. We are confident that democracy and free enterprise can succeed everywhere. A central element in our programs of economic assistance should be to share with others the beneficial ideas of democratic capitalism, which have led the United States to economic prosperity and political freedom.

Our bilateral economic assistance program should be directed at promoting economic growth and prosperity in developing nations. Therefore, we support recently enacted legislation untiring our programs from the policies of austerity of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund.

We have changed the Carter-Mondale policy of channeling increasing proportions of U.S. assistance through multinational institutions beyond our control. We strongly support President Reagan's decision not to increase funding for the Inter-

national Development Association because of its predilection for nations with state-dominated economic systems. Our contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development will be eliminated due to its consistent bias toward non-market economies. And the anti-American bureaucracy of the U.N.'s Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) will no longer be supported by U.S. taxpayers. We will not support international organizations inconsistent with our interests. In particular, we will work to eliminate their funding of Communist states.

Prominent among American ideals is the sanctity of the family. Decisions on family size should be made freely by each family. We support efforts to enhance the freedom of such family decisions. We will endeavor to assure that those who are responsible for our programs are more sensitive to the cultural needs of the countries to which we give assistance.

As part of our commitment to the family and our opposition to abortion, we will eliminate all U.S. funding for organizations which in any way support abortion or research on abortion methods.

To strengthen bilateral foreign assistance, we will reduce or eliminate assistance to nations with foreign policies contrary to our interests and strengthen the Secretary of State's hand by ensuring his direct control over assistance programs.

Foreign military assistance strengthens our security by enabling friendly nations to provide for their own defense, including defense against terrorism.

Terrorism is a new form of warfare against the democracies. Supported by the Soviet Union and others, it ranges from PLO murder to the attempted assassination of the Pope. Combating it requires an integrated effort of our diplomacy, armed forces, intelligence services, and law-enforcement organizations. Legislative obstacles to international cooperation against terrorism must be repealed, followed by a vigorous program to enhance friendly nations' counter-terrorist forces. In particular, we seek the cooperation of our hemispheric neighbors to deal comprehensively with the Soviet and Cuban terrorism now afflicting us.

International Organizations

Americans cannot count on the international organizations to guarantee our security or adequately protect our interests. The United States hosts the headquarters of the United Nations, pays a fourth of its budget, and is proportionally the largest contributor to most international organizations; but many members consistently vote against us. As Soviet influence in these organizations has grown, cynicism and the double standard have become their way of life.

This is why President Reagan announced that we will leave the worst of these organizations, UNESCO. He has put the U.N. on notice that the U.S. will strongly oppose the use of the U.N. to fos-

ter anti-semitism, Soviet espionage, and hostility to the United States. The President decisively rejected the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea and embarked instead on a dynamic national oceans policy, animated by our traditional commitment to freedom of the seas. That pattern will be followed with regard to U.N. meddling in Antarctica and outer space. Enthusiastically endorsing those steps, we will apply the same standards to all international organizations. We will monitor their votes and activities, and particularly the votes of member states which receive U.S. aid. Americans will no longer silently suffer the hypocrisy of many of these organizations.

Human Rights

The American people believe that United States foreign policy should be animated by the cause of human rights for all the world's peoples.

A well-rounded human rights policy is concerned with specific individuals whose rights are denied by governments of the right or left, and with entire peoples whose Communist governments deny their claim to human rights as individuals and acknowledge only the "rights" derived from membership in an economic class. Republicans support a human rights policy which includes both these concerns.

Republican concern for human rights also extends to the institutions of free societies — political parties, the free press, business and labor organizations — which embody and protect the exercise of individual rights. The National Endowment for Democracy and other instruments of U.S. diplomacy foster the growth of these vital institutions.

By focusing solely on the shortcomings of non-Communist governments, Democrats have missed the forest for the trees, failing to recognize that the greatest threat to human rights is the Communist system itself.

Republicans understand that the East-West struggle has profound human rights implications. We know that Communist nations, which profess dedication to human rights, actually use their totalitarian systems to violate human rights in an organized, systematic fashion.

The Reagan-Bush Administration has worked for positive human rights changes worldwide. Our efforts have ranged from support for the Helsinki Accords to support of judicial and political reform in El Salvador.

The Republican Party commends President Reagan for accepting the Honorary Chairmanship of the campaign to erect a U.S. Holocaust Memorial in Washington, D.C. and supports the efforts of the U.S. Holocaust Council in erecting such a museum and educational center. The museum will bear witness to the victims and survivors of the Holocaust.

For Republicans, the struggle for human freedom is more than an end in itself. It is part of a cause that builds a founda-

tion for peace. When people are free to express themselves and choose democratic governments, their free private institutions and electoral power constitute a constraint against the excesses of authoritarian rulers. We agree with President Truman, who said: "In the long run our security and the world's hopes for peace lie not in measures of defense or in the control of weapons, but in the growth and expansion of freedom and self-government."

To this end, we pledge our continued effort to secure for all people the inherent God-given rights that Americans have been privileged to enjoy for two centuries.

Advocacy for Democracy

To promote and sustain the cause of democracy, America must be an active participant in the political competition between the principles of Communism and of democracy.

To do this, America needs a strong voice and active instruments of public diplomacy to counter the Communist bloc's massive effort to disinform and deceive world public opinion. Republicans believe that truth is America's most powerful weapon.

The Reagan-Bush Administration has elevated the stature of public diplomacy in the councils of government and increased the United States Information Agency budget by 44 percent in four years. New programs have been launched in television, citizen exchanges, and dissemination of written information. The National Endowment for Democracy has enlisted the talent of private American institutions, including the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to educate our friends overseas in the ways of democratic institutions. A sustained billion-dollar effort is modernizing and expanding the Voice of America, strengthening the Voice's signal, lengthening its broadcast, improving its content, adding new language services and replacing antiquated equipment. Radio Marti, the new broadcast service to Cuba, will begin to broadcast the truth about Castro and to the Cuban people.

Initial steps have been taken to improve the capabilities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which serve the captive nations of the Soviet bloc. We pledge to carry out a thorough improvement program for these radios, including new transmitters and other means of penetrating the Iron Curtain which denies the RFE/RL's broadcasts to millions of captive people, including the increasingly discontented Soviet minorities, behind the Iron Curtain.

Because of the importance we place on people-to-people exchange programs, Republicans support the dedicated work of Peace Corps volunteers. America must nurture good relations not only with foreign governments but with other peoples as well. By encouraging the free flow of ideas and information, America is helping to build the infrastructure of democracy and demonstrating the strength of our belief in the democratic example. The United States

Peace Corps, reflecting traditional American values, will follow the White House initiative promoting free enterprise development overseas in third world countries.

The tradition of addressing the world's peoples, advocating the principles and goals of democracy and freedom, is as old as our Republic. Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence "with a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." This popular advocacy is even more important today in the global struggle between totalitarianism and freedom.

The Future of Our National Security

Republicans look to the future with confidence that we have the will, the weapons, and the technology to preserve America as the land of the free and the home of the brave. We stand united with President Reagan in his hope that American scientists and engineers can produce the technology and the hardware to make nuclear war obsolete.

The prospect for peace is excellent because America is strong again. America's defenses have only one purpose: to assure that our people and free institutions survive and flourish.

Our security requires both the capability to defend against aggression and the will to do so. Together, will and capability deter aggression. That is why the danger of war has grown more remote under President Reagan.

When he took office, defense policy was in disarray. The Carter-Mondale Administration had diminished our military capability and had confused the pursuit of peace with accommodating totalitarianism. It could not respond to the determined growth of Soviet military power and a more aggressive Soviet foreign policy.

We are proud of a strong America. Our military strength exists for the high moral purpose of deterring conflict, not initiating war. The deterrence of aggression is ethically imperative. That is why we have restored America's defense capability and renewed our country's will. Americans are a nation alive in the Armed Forces and proud of those who serve.

We reaffirm the principle that the national security policy of the United States should be based upon a strategy of peace through strength, a goal of the 1980 Republican Platform.

Maintaining technological superiority, the historical foundation of our policy of deterrence, remains essential. In other areas, such as our maritime forces, we should continue to strive for qualitative superiority.

President Reagan committed our nation to a modernized strategic and theater nuclear force sufficient to deter attack against the United States and our allies, while pursuing negotiations for balanced, verifiable reductions of nuclear weapons under arms control agreements.

In order to deter, we must be sufficiently strong to convince a potential ad-

versary that under no circumstances would it be to its advantage to initiate conflict at any level.

We pledge to do everything necessary so that, in case of conflict, the United States would clearly prevail.

We will continue to modernize our deterrent capability while negotiating for verifiable arms control. We will continue the policies that have given fresh confidence and new hope to freedom-loving people everywhere.

Arms Control for the Future

Americans, while caring deeply about arms control, realize that it is not an end in itself, but can be a major component of a foreign and defense policy which keeps America free, strong, and independent.

Sharing the American people's realistic view of the Soviet Union, the Reagan Administration has pursued arms control agreements that would reduce the level of nuclear weaponry possessed by the superpowers. President Reagan has negotiated with flexibility, and always from a position of strength.

In the European theater, President Reagan proposed the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles. In the START talks with the Soviet Union, he proposed the "build-down" which would eliminate from the U.S. and Soviet arsenals two existing nuclear warheads for each new warhead.

The Soviet Union has rejected every invitation by President Reagan to resume talks, refusing to return unless we remove the Pershing II and Cruise missiles which we have placed in Europe at the request of our NATO allies. Soviet intransigence is designed to force concessions from the United States even before negotiations begin. We will not succumb to this strategy. The Soviet Union will return to the bargaining table only when it recognizes that the United States will not make unilateral concessions or allow the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear superiority.

The Soviet Union, by engaging in a sustained pattern of violations of arms control agreements, has cast severe doubt on its own willingness to negotiate and comply with new agreements in a spirit of good faith. Agreements violated by the Soviet Union include SALT, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, the Helsinki Accords, and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972. This pattern of Soviet behavior is clearly designed to obtain a Soviet strategic advantage.

To deter Soviet violations of arms control agreements, the United States must maintain the capability to verify, display a willingness to respond to Soviet violations which have military significance, and adopt a policy whereby the defense of the United States is not constrained by arms control agreements violated by the Soviet Union.

We support the President's efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons and to improve international controls and safeguards over sensitive nuclear technologies.

The President's non-proliferation policy has emphasized results, rather than rhetoric, as symbolized by the successful meeting of nuclear supplier states in Luxembourg in July of this year. We endorse the President's initiative on comprehensive safeguards and his efforts to encourage other supplier states to support such measures.

Defense Resources

The first duty of government is to provide for the common defense. That solemn responsibility was neglected during the Carter-Mondale years. At the end of the Eisenhower era, nearly 48 percent of the federal budget was devoted to defense programs, representing 9.1 percent of our gross national product. By 1980, under Carter-Mondale, defense spending had fallen to only 5 percent of gross national product and represented only 24 percent of the federal budget. The Reagan Administration has begun to correct the weaknesses caused by that situation by prudently increasing defense resources. We must continue to devote the resources essential to deter a Soviet threat — a threat which has grown and should be met by an improved and modernized U.S. defense capability. Even so, the percentage of the Reagan Administration budget spent on defense is only about half that of the Eisenhower-Kennedy era.

Readiness

In 1980, our military forces were not ready to perform their missions in the event of emergency. Many planes could not fly for lack of spare parts; ships could not sail for lack of skilled personnel; supplies were insufficient for essential training or sustained combat. Today, readiness and sustainability have improved dramatically. We not only have more equipment, but it is in operating condition. Our military personnel have better training, pride, and confidence. We have improved their pay and benefits. Recruiting and retaining competent personnel is no longer a problem.

Under the Democrats, the All-Volunteer Force was headed for disastrous failure. Because of the Carter-Mondale intransigence on military pay and benefits, we saw the shameful spectacle of patriotic service families being forced below the poverty level, relying on food stamps and other welfare programs. The quality of life for our military has been substantially improved under the Reagan Administration. We wholeheartedly support the all-volunteer armed force and are proud of our historic initiative to bring it to pass.

From the worst levels of retention and recruiting in post-war history in 1979, we have moved to the highest ever recorded. We are meeting 100 percent of our recruiting needs, and 92 percent of our recruits are high school graduates capable of mastering the skills needed in the modern armed services. In 1980, 13 percent of our ships and 25 percent of our aircraft squadrons reported themselves not combat ready because of personnel shortages. Today,

those figures have dropped to less than 1 percent and 4 percent respectively.

Today, the United States leads the world in integrating women into the military. They serve in a variety of non combat assignments. We have made significant strides in numbers of women and their level of responsibility. Female officer strength has grown by 24 percent under the Reagan Administration and is projected to increase, with even greater increases for non-commissioned officers.

Conventional and Strategic Modernization

In 1980, we had a "hollow Army," a Navy half its numbers of a decade earlier, and an Air Force badly in need of upgrading. The Army is now receiving the most modern tanks, fighting vehicles, and artillery. The Navy has grown to 513 ships with 79 more under construction this year, well on its way toward the 600-ship, 15-carrier force necessary for our maritime strategy. The Air Force has procured advanced tactical aircraft. By decade's end, our intertheater lift capacity will have increased by 75 percent. We pledge to rescue a shipbuilding industry consigned to extinction by the Carter-Mondale team.

Since the end of World War II, America's nuclear arsenal has caused the Soviet Union to exercise caution to avoid direct military confrontation with us and our close allies.

Our nuclear arms are a vital element of the Free World's security system.

Throughout the 1970s and up to the present, the Soviet Union has engaged in a vast buildup of nuclear arms. In the naive hope that unilateral restraint by the United States would cause the Soviet Union to reverse course, the Carter-Mondale Administration delayed significant major features of the strategic modernization our country needed. There was no arms race because only the Soviet Union was racing, determined to achieve an intimidating advantage over the Free World. As a result, in 1980, America was moving toward a position of clear nuclear inferiority to the Soviets.

President Reagan moved swiftly to reverse this alarming situation and to re-establish an effective margin of safety before 1990. Despite obstruction from many congressional Democrats, we have restored the credibility of our deterrent.

Reserve and Guard Forces

We salute the men and women of the National Guard and the Reserves. The Carter-Mondale team completely neglected our vital Reserve and Guard forces, leaving them with obsolete equipment, frozen pay, and thousands of vacancies.

The Reagan Administration has transformed our Reserve and National Guard. The Naval Reserve will ultimately operate 40 of the fleet's 600 ships. Navy and Marine Air Reserve units now receive the most modern aircraft, as do the Air Force Reserve and Guard. Army Reserve and Guard

units now receive the latest tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, and artillery. Reserve pay has increased 30 percent, and reserve components are having record success in filling their positions. Our country counts on the Reserves and the Guard, and they can count on us.

Management Reform

The Republican Party advocates a strong defense and fiscal responsibility at the same time. This Administration has already made major advances in eliminating the deep-rooted procurement problems we inherited. Republicans have changed the way the Pentagon does business, encouraging greater economy and efficiency, stretching the taxpayer's dollar.

Learning nothing from past mistakes, the Carter-Mondale Administration returned to centralized defense management. The predictable result: competition fell to only 15 percent of Pentagon procurement; programs were mired in disastrous cost overruns and disputes; outrageous and exorbitant prices were paid for spare parts; and the taxpayers' money was wasted on a grand scale.

We have tackled this problem head-on. We returned management to the Services and began far-reaching reforms. To hold down costs, we more than doubled competition in Pentagon procurement. We appointed Competition Advocate Generals in each Service and an overall Inspector General for the Pentagon. We increased incentives for excellent performance by contractors, and we have applied immediate penalty for poor performance. Our innovative approaches have already saved the taxpayers billions of dollars.

Spare parts acquisition has undergone thorough reform. Improving spare parts management, involving a Department of Defense inventory of almost four million items, is a complex and massive management challenge. The Pentagon's new 10-point program is already working. Old contracts are being revamped to allow competition, high prices are being challenged, and rigorous audits are continuing. As an example, a stool cap for a navigator's chair, once priced at \$1,100, was challenged by an alert Air Force Sergeant. It now costs us 31 cents. The Pentagon obtained a full refund and gave the Sergeant a cash reward.

Our men and women in uniform deserve the best and most reliable equipment that this country can offer. We must improve the reliability and performance of our weapons systems, and warranties can be a very positive contribution to defense procurement practices, as can be the independent office of operational testing and evaluation, which was another positive Republican initiative.

The acquisition improvement program now includes program stability, multi-year procurement, economic production rates, realistic budgeting, and increased competition. The B-1 bomber, replacing our aging B-52 fighter, is ahead of schedule and

under cost. We support our anti-submarine warfare effort and urge its funding at its current level. For the last two years, the Navy has received nearly 50 ships more than three years ahead of schedule and nearly \$1 billion under budget. The U.S.S. *Theodore Roosevelt*, our newest aircraft carrier, is 17 months ahead of schedule and almost \$74 million under cost.

We have reformed inefficient procurement practices established decades ago, and we will continue to ensure the most gain from each defense dollar.

The Tasks Ahead

The damage to our defenses through unilateral disarmament cannot be repaired quickly. The hollow Army of the Carter-Mondale Administration is hollow no more, and our Navy is moving toward a 600-ship force.

We share President Reagan's determination to restore credible security for our country. Our choice is not between a strong defense or a strong economy; we must succeed in both, or we will succeed in neither.

Our forces must be second to none, and we condemn the notion that one-sided military reduction will induce the Soviets to seek peace. Our military strength not only provides the deterrent necessary for a more peaceful world, but it is also the best incentive for the Soviets to agree to arms reduction.

Veterans

America is free because of its veterans. We owe them more than thanks. After answering the call to arms, they brought leadership and patriotism back to their communities. They are a continuing resource for America. Through their membership in veterans' service activities, they have strongly supported President Reagan's defense policy. Knowing firsthand the sacrifices of war, they have spoken out frequently for a strong national defense.

Veterans have earned the benefits; these must not be taken away. As we give them an investment in their health, our nation unlimited dividends.

We have accomplished a great deal. We are meeting the needs of women veterans and ensuring them equal treatment. We must prepare to meet the needs of aging veterans.

We are addressing the unique readjustment needs of Vietnam veterans by expanding front-line front readjustment counseling programs, extending vocational training and job placement assistance, and targeting research toward understanding delayed stress reaction in combat veterans. We have moved to alleviate the uncertainty of veterans exposed to Agent Orange by providing nearly 129,000 medical exams and by launching an all-out, government-wide research effort.

We are making major strides in improving health care for veterans. VA hospital construction has expanded to meet community needs, and benefits for dis-

abled veterans have been improved.

We will maintain the veterans' preferences for federal hiring and will improve health, education, and other benefits. We support the Reagan Administration's actions to make home ownership attainable by more veterans, as well as our program to help veterans in small business compete for government contracts. We will extend to all veterans of recent conflicts, such as Lebanon and Grenada, the same assistance.

In recognition of the unique commitment and personal sacrifices of military spouses, President Reagan has called upon the nation to honor them and proclaimed a day of tribute. We will remember them and advance their interests.

National Intelligence

Knowing our adversaries' capabilities and intentions is our first line of defense. A strong intelligence community focuses our diplomacy and saves billions of defense dollars. This critical asset was gravely weakened during the Carter-Mondale years.

We will continue to strengthen our intelligence services. We will remove statutory obstacles to the effective management, performance, and security of intelligence sources and methods. We will further improve our ability to influence international events in support of our foreign policy objectives, and we will strengthen our counterintelligence facilities.

Strategic Trade

By encouraging commerce in militarily significant technology, the Carter-Mondale Administration actually improved Soviet military power. Because of that terrible error, we are now exposed to significant risk and must spend billions of defense dollars that would otherwise have been unnecessary.

The Reagan Administration halted the Carter-Mondale folly. We have strengthened cooperative efforts with our allies to restrict diversion of militarily critical technology. We will increase law-enforcement and intelligence efforts to halt Soviet espionage and illegal exploitation of our technology.

Terrorism

International terrorism is not a random phenomenon but a new form of warfare waged by the forces of totalitarianism against the democratic world.

In recent years, the Soviets have sponsored terrorist groups in pursuit of their strategic goals. The international links among terrorist groups are now clearly understood; and the Soviet link, direct and indirect, is also clearly understood. The Soviets use terrorist groups to weaken democracy and undermine world stability.

Purely passive measures do not deter terrorists. It is time to think about appropriate preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike.

Terrorism is an international problem.



An alternate delegate reads the Republican Party's 1984 platform book.

No one country can successfully combat it. We must lead the free nations in a concerted effort to pressure members of the League of Terror to cease their sponsorship and support of terrorism.

A Secure Future

During the Carter-Mondale Administration, the Soviets built more weapons, and more modern ones, than the United States. President Reagan has begun to reverse this dangerous trend. More important, he has begun a process that, over time, will gradually but dramatically reduce the Soviet Union's ability to threaten our lives with nuclear arms.

His leadership came none too soon. The combined damage of a decade of neglect and of relentless Soviet buildup, despite treaties and our restraint, will not be undone easily.

Today, the Soviet Union possesses over 5,000 intercontinental nuclear warheads powerful and accurate enough to destroy hard military targets, and it is flight-testing a whole new generation of missiles. The Carter-Mondale Administration left this country at a decided disadvantage, without a credible deterrent. That is why President Reagan embarked on a modernization program covering all three legs of the strategic triad.

Republicans understood that our nuclear deterrent forces are the ultimate military guarantor of America's security and that of our allies. That is why we will continue to support the programs necessary to modernize our strategic forces and reduce the vulnerabilities. This includes the earliest possible deployment of new small mobile ICBM.

While the Carter-Mondale team hid beneath an umbrella of wishful thinking, the Soviet Union made every effort to protect itself in case of conflict. It has an operational anti-satellite system; the United States does not. A network of huge ultra-modern radars, new anti-missile interceptors, new surface-to-air missiles, all evidence the Soviet commitment to self-protection.

President Reagan has launched a bold new Strategic Defense Initiative to defend against nuclear attack. We enthusiastically support President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. We enthusiastically support the development of non-nuclear, space-based defensive systems to protect the United States by destroying incoming missiles.

Recognizing the need for close consultation with our allies, we support a comprehensive and intensive effort to render obsolete the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). The Democratic Party embraces Mutual Assured Destruction. The Republican Party rejects the strategy of despair and supports instead the strategy of hope and survival.

We will begin to eliminate the threat posed by strategic nuclear missiles as soon as possible. Our only purpose (one all people share) is to reduce the danger of nuclear war. To that end, we will use superior American technology to achieve space-based and ground-based defensive systems as soon as possible to protect the lives of the American people and our allies.

President Reagan has asked, "Would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them?" The Republican Party answers, "Yes!" ■

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SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S HISTORIC ADDRESS TO THE CONSE. BY
OF KASHMIR

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The Sheikh's inaugural address to the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly seems to have a three-fold significance. In the first place, the address is that of a leader who has been the Chief architect of the freedom struggle in the State as a part of the larger National movement which ended the British Rule in India sub-continent. He has also played a leading role in the political drama of the State for about the past half-century, occupying the centre of the stage of the Kashmir political scene most of this time, and indirectly influencing it considerably when circumstances did not occasionally allow his direct presence on the stage.

Secondly, it spells out and highlights the principal Institutions and other empirical formulations which were sought to be enshrined in the State's Constitution and comprise the new Constitutional set-up in Jammu and Kashmir.

Lastly, it is possible to discern in the address, a reflection of some sort of a political philosophy, on ideology or rather a mixture of ideologies and to abstract the same from the matrix of the empirical issues and a cluster of Institutions analysed and discussed therein.

In the very nature of the things, the issues and their ~~various~~ formulations in the address, are interwoven with the abstract thought behind them. It therefore, seems proper to briefly touch the main issues and follow them up with the political philosophy which prevailed in the Constituency and was finally projected in its handiwork, the Constitution.

Among the main issues, were the future of the ruling dynasty, the accession of the State to the Indian Union, the question of compensation to the expropriated land-owners, the degree of cultural autonomy to the various territorial units

of the State, fundamental rights, independence of Judiciary and the rule of Law together with the values contained in the concept of socio-economic justice.

As to the ruling dynasty, the Institution of monarchy was pronounced to be incompatible with the spirit and need of modern times and it was desired that the Constitutional head of the State should be chosen by the State Assembly to perform certain functions which may be entrusted to him under the Constitution.

In respect of the State's accession, the address examines the pros and cons of three options open to the Assembly, namely, accession to India, accession to Pakistan and an independent status, making the State as a kind of Switzerland of the East. In favour of the accession to India, the address referred among other things, to commonality of ideals between the State and rest of India, the support that State's freedom movement received from Indian National Congress, democratic values of Indian Constitution such as rule of law, the Secular approach to social and public life, the commitment to land reforms and other aspects of socio-economic justice.

Explaining the case of accession to Pakistan, the address notes the feudal structure and the communal outlook which had coloured the political life in Pakistan. It marks the inadequacy and outdated nature of religion forming the basis of a modern State, and pointed out irrelevance of religion to present day alliances.

Regarding an independent status for Kashmir, the lack of goodwill for it on the part of its neighbours and some other factors made its viability out of question.

The Assembly was called upon to take a decision on the issue of compensation to the land owners who had lost

part of their land on account of Land-reforms which had been carried out by the new regime.

The manifesto of the National Conference drawn way back in 1944 and entitled 'New Kashmir' contains, among, other things the principle "land to the tillers." The address also stressed the desirability of adopting rule of law, independence of judiciary, fundamental rights such as right to equality, freedom of expression and the values pertaining to the socio-economic justice.

A perusal of the address indicates that the Sheikh (and his party) was considerably influenced by the liberal, democratic traditions of the west, which, incidentally, had also influenced the making of the Indian Constitution. The party also subscribed to certain socialistic values and concepts such as that of socio-economic justice. The "land to the tiller" without compensation to the land-owners for the land of which they were expropriated is, in fact, reminiscent of a Marxist norm. It seems that the two main streams of the western liberal political traditions and the socialism slightly coloured by the Marxist traditions, both clamour for attention on the part of the party, its leaders and the Assembly. The result of was a kind of a 'mix' of the two traditions, two different ways of life, a kind of amalgam of the values belonging to each traditions.

And, so, as the two philosophies or ideologies vied with each other to capture the leaders' mind, the State Constituent assembly was finally asked to incorporate democratic socialism, somewhat in the way as the Indian Constituent Assembly had done with the reference to the Constitution hammered into shape by it. The State Assembly's final option in favour of no compensation to the land-owners in the larger context of the "land to the tillers", was a sort of a pinch of salt or spice thrown into the cauldron of the new polity, in which what was mainly cooking up was a sort of democratic socialism. To reiterate,

the philosophy which largely animated the framing of the Constitution in Jammu and Kashmir State was that of democratic socialism.

The functions for which the Constituent Assembly had been called upon to perform were :-

- i) To decide constitution for the future governance of the country;
- ii) to decide the future of the ruling dynasty;
- iii) To decide whether or not compensation should be paid to the landlord; and
- iv). To declare its conclusion regarding accession.

so far as the future Constitution of the State was concerned, Sheikh Abdullah stressed that it should be based on the principles of equality, liberty and social justice, which were the integral features of all progressive constitutions of the world. The rule of law, equality before law and the independence of judiciary should be the corner-stones of the political structure. He further added that the freedom of individual in the matter of speech, movement, association, press and opinion as well as rapid economic development and more equitable distribution of national wealth as given in 'New Kashmir' should be guaranteed. He pleaded that full consideration should be given to the existence of various sub-national groups in the State as well as basic unity of the State. The future constitution, according to him, must afford the fullest possibilities to each of these groups to grow and flourish in conformity with their cultural characteristics, without detriment to the integral unity of the state or the requirements of our social and economic policies.

While referring to the future of the Ruling Dynasty, Sheikh Abdullah traced out briefly the events which led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Amritsar 1846 and the

transfer of the people and the territory for 75 lakhs of rupees to the Maharaja Gulab Singh. He also referred to the suppression coming in the wake of the Dogra rule afterwards. With the withdrawal of the paramount power, he pointed out, the rights of the Indian priests had ceased and sovereignty had reverted to the people. He stressed that National Conference was convinced that the institution of monarchy was incompatible with the spirit and need of modern times and a constitutional head of the state would have to be chosen to exercise the functions the Amarnath surely right chose to entrust to him.

In order to decide whether or not compensation should be paid to the expropriated landlords, Sheikh Abdullah traced out briefly the history of landlordism in Kashmir from Great Mughals down to the Dogra dynasty. He referred to the "land to the tiller" policy of the National Conference as envisaged in the 'New Kashmir'.

As regards the State's successor Sheikh Abdullah referred to the three possible alternatives with their pros and cons. These were as under :-

- a) Accession with the Union of India;
- b) Accession with Pakistan; and
- c) Making Kashmir an Eastern Switzerland i.e. Independent Kashmir.

While explaining the merits of the state's accession with India he mentioned the kinship of ideals between the two states; the support of the Indian National Congress to the cause of State's people's freedom; the steps towards democratization, social reconstruction; justice, freedom, equality for all; guarantee of equality of rights to all citizens (irrespective of their religion, colour, caste and class) and secularism -- as the main basis of the Indian Constitution. He pleaded that these

features of Indian polity would conduce to the security of the Kashmiri Muslims in India. He pointed out that even the economic interests of the people demanded the accession of the state with India — as land reforms could only be possible in India and not in landlord-ridden Pakistan with so many feudal privileges intact. More industrialised than feudal Pakistan, according to him, India could help the state to exploit the mineral resources and the raw material in which Kashmir was very rich. The essential commodities could be got in large quantities from India. He further also added that as their economic welfare was bound with their arts and crafts, the traditional markets for these precious goods were located in India.

While referring to the second alternative and an argument that as Pakistan was a Muslim state and Kashmir being Muslim majority state, must accede to Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah pointed out that Pakistan's claims as a Muslim state was only a camouflage, a smoke screen to dupe the common man and an appeal to the religious sentiment. According to him Pakistan was not an organic unity of all muslims in this sub-continent and was a feudal state where majority of the population was still helpless under the heavy heels of their rulers and were not guaranteed even the fundamental rights through a democratic constitution. He pointed out the fact that, in Pakistan, the right of self determination was then being denied and those who had fought against imperialism were suppressed. He further stressed that religious affinities did not and should not alone normally determine the political alliances of the states and that is why there was no Christian block, Buddhist block or even Muslim block in modern international politics. Reiterating the economic interests and

community of political ideals between the state and the union of India, Sheikh Abdullah said that these days economic interests and community of ideals more appropriately influence the politics of the states.

While referring to the third alternative i.e. the independence of the state, he pointed out the practical difficulties involved therein. Firstly it was not easy to protect sovereignty, and independence in a small country which had not sufficient strength to defend itself and its long and difficult frontiers bordering in with so many countries. Secondly under the circumstances it was a must for the people of the state to be assured of the goodwill of all their neighbours. Addressing the Constituent Assembly, he reminded the members of the fact that despite the existence of a standstill agreement between independent state of J&K and Pakistan during the period August 15 to October 22, 1947, the state had been invaded by Pakistan and where was the guarantee that in future it might not be the victim of a similar aggression.

Sheikh Abdullah concluded his historic statement with the stress that the House must consider the question of accession with open minds, and not let their personal prejudices stand in the way of a balanced judgement. He stressed for the Assembly to weight all these in the scales of their national good and to pronounce where the true well-being of the country lay in future. So far as constitution-making function of the C.A. was concerned, Sheikh Abdullah's policy statement Monday i.e. 5th Nov., 1951 clearly indicated what the constitution would not include. The issues of accession, the ruling dynasty and compensation for dispossessed landlords would be settled through the resolutions.

(19)

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The Formation of the All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front and its Politics.

JAMMU
By. Dr. Vidya Bhushan

The motivational variations arising out of varied political considerations and failure of the Centre-State leadership at various levels to reconcile the various claims and aspirations led to the Constitutional crisis of August 1953. As a result the first popularly elected Ministry of Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed. He and his prominent supporter Mr. M.A. Beg and few others were arrested under the Public Security Act and Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. took over as the new premier of the state. All this termed as an attack on the sub-nationalism of Kashmir by the Indian government and murder of democracy in Kashmir. It, therefore, evoked a violent reaction in the valley in which about ten thousand persons including one hundred women were also arrested. The movement though was crushed by the new regime yet it caused feelings of hatred against India.

Mr. M.A. Beg, who was later on released from detention in November 1954 because of ill health, however, conceived an idea for creating a new party, not only to meet the new challenge against Kashmir's right of self-determination but also to mobilise public opinion against Bakshi government. Thus, M.A. Beg, alongwith six sitting members of the state legislature and one member of Parliament from the state left the All J&K National Conference and founded the All J&K Plebiscite Front on August 9, 1955 i.e., two years after the crisis of August 1953. On the same day a special session of

the party was convened in the lawns of the residential house of Khwaja Ali Shah, which was attended by thousands & supporters of the party and Mr. Beg and Mr. G.H. Hamdani were unanimously elected as president and the Secretary of the party respectively. An Executive Committee consisted of sixteen members was also elected. The following were the members elected to the Executive Committee :-

- 1) Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg (President);
- 2) Sofi Mohammad Akbar (Vice-President);
- 3) Kh. Abdul Gani Gooni (Vice-President);
- 4) Kh. Mohi-ud-Din Hamadani (General Secretary);
- 5) Kh. Sader-ud-Din Mujahid (Secretary);
- 6) Kh. Ghulam Resool Kochak (Secretary);
- 7) Haji Mohammad Ishaq (Treasurer);
- 8) Kh. Ali Shah, Srinagar (Member);
- 9) Sheikh Mohammad Mansoor, Kulgam (Member);
- 10) Mohammad Subhan Bhatt, Pulwama (Member);
- 11) Pir Mohammad Afzal Makdoomi, Srinagar (Member);
- 12) Hakim Habib-Ullah, Sopore (Member);
- 13) Ghulam Nabi Wani, Budgam (Member);
- 14) Pir Mohammad Maqbool Yelgami, (Member)
- 15) Ghulam Qadir Hawabaz, Baramulla (Member) and
- 16) Ghulam Mohammad Dar, Banihal (Member)

Soon after the formation of the Executive Committee, the elections of the district and tehsil committees were held.

While declaring that "No power on the Earth can deprive the people of Kashmir the right of Self-determination", Mr. M.A. Beg read out the manifesto of the party which was signed by M.A. Beg; Sofi Mohd Akbar (M.P); Hakim Habib-Ullah (M.L.A); Peer Mohd Maqbool Yelgeni (Ex.M.L.A); Syed Alaudin Gillani (M.L.A); Ghulam Nabi Wani (M.L.A); Maiik Ghulam Hussain (Ex.M.L.A); Sadar-ud-Din Mujahid (Editor Khalid); Haji Mohammad Ishaq (Vice-Chairman, All India Shia Conference); and Kh. Abdul Gani Gooni (M.L.A).

The Plebiscite Front also said to have the blessings of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah. Although he never formally joined the party, yet it helped the party to become a popular organisation in Kashmir. As the time passed on it became the most effective and influential party in the valley as well as in Muslim belt of Jammu region. In view of its popularity the party was banned in the beginning, but subsequently the ban was lifted.

The next party convention was convened at Islamabad on September 10, 1955 in which Mr. M.A. Beg - the President of the party issued the policy statement. On 6th October, 1955 the Front convened a two - days Convention at Sopore which was attended by thousand of people and confirmed Mr. Beg's statement of 10th September, 1955 contained :

"The Plebiscite Front is sure that the world opinion cannot be misled for long. Those people who love freedom and democracy and struggle for human rights will stand by us and give moral support to four hundred thousand people of Kashmir in the attainment for their objectives. The only crime of Kashmiris is that they demand the right to express their opinion. Since their beloved leader has been in prison for three years without any trial, the Sheikh's release is a must, because in this period of darkness marked by troubles, and afflictions, hardships and oppression, tyranny and despotism, he is the only hope of light for them. It is the selfless sacrifices of the Sheikh which inspired the people with valour, courage and determination to fight their enemy without any fear. The statement added that the conditions in the state had been so crucially created for the votaries of the Plebiscite Front that it almost became criminal for them to raise any voice against the oppression exercised by the Government - Even then the people were determined to face the hardships with full strength and march forward to their destination".

Basically, the Plebiscite Front was organised by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was in prison. The Front was organised, however, by experienced politicians who had a remarkable role and record of their political life during the freedom struggle

in the State. The important personalities involved in the Plebiscite Front politics were "Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Sofi Mohammad Akbar of Sopore, Kh. Abdul Gani Gooni, Kh. Mohi-ud-Din Hamadano, Kash. Ghulam Rasool Kochak, Haji Mohammad Ishaq, Kh. Ali Shah, Sheikh Mohammad Mansoor, Mohammad Subhan Bhatt, Pir Mohammad Afzal Makdoomi, Habibullah Hakim, Sopore, Ghulam Nabi Wani, Pir Naghool Yelgami, Handwera, Ghulam Qadir Hawabaz, Ghulam Mohammad Dar, Bannihal, Mirza Ghulam Mohammad Beg, Ghulam Nabi Kochak, Doctor Abdul Majid (Islamabad), Pir Abdul Gani, Kh. Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Kh. Sadar-ud-Din Mujahid, Mohammad Ramzan Karnai, Kh. Abdul Ahad (Advocate Sopore), Ghulam Hassan Inqilabi, Ghulam Ahmad Sofi, Ghulam Mohammad Bhat and Ghulam Mohammad Sheikh (Doda, Jammu). With these and many other politicians and political workers, the Plebiscite Front had declared itself to be a non-communal, secular and non-violent organisation".

Party Organisational Structure

On the basis of the Plebiscite Front Constitution 1955, which was subsequently amended in 1965, the party organisational structure comprised of :-

1. The Primary Committee or Mohalla or Gam(Village) Committee. Its activities were confined to Mohalla or the village. The members to this committee were directly elected by the residents of that locality.

2. Next Primary Committee was called Halqa Committee and its activities and functions were confined to the area covered by a patwar Halqa. Its members were indirectly elected by all the elected members and office bearers of all the primary units within the Halqa. Halqa Committees existed also in town municipal areas. All the members and office bearers of the committees operating in a Halqa were empowered to elect the delegates who would elect delegates and these delegates elected the Tehsil President, District and Provincial Committees, which function in these administrative units. The Presidents of these committees had power of nominating the office bearers and members of these committees. The party had one General Council whose members were elected delegates, one fourth from every tehsil from all over the State.

Besides, there were one President; two Vice-Presidents; one General Secretary; two Secretaries; a Treasurer; and Accountant; members of the working committee; who formed the party's main central council; delegates; the Tehsil, the District, the Provincial and the State level committees; and the primary or basic members of the party.

The party had a ~~xxxix~~ centralized organisational structure. Its all the committees used to function under the discipline and general control of the working committee.

However, the Front's Finance Committee, comprising of the President, two Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer, used to control the receipt and expenditure of all the funds of the party and audit the accounts of all the subordinate committees.

But the primary or basic membership of the party was open only to those who believed that the state's accession to India was only temporary and provisional and that the issue of accession had to be decided by its people through a Plebiscite.

Party Ideology

The ideology of the Plebiscite Front was evident from the very name, aims and objectives of the party. The party leadership believed that as the Instrument of Accession of the Jammu And Kashmir State with the Indian Dominion signed by the Maharaja on October 27, 1947 was accepted by Lord Mountbatten on the assurance that it should be settled by a reference to the people, Kashmir State was a disputed territory. The State's accession was Indian union was, therefore, conditional and temporary and could only be settled in accordance

with the wishes of the people of the state. The party leadership stressed that since the issue of Kashmir accession had never been referred to the people, the dispute stood unresolved. The leadership further stressed that as Pt.Nehru , the then Prime Minister of India cabled a similar assurance to the British Prime Minister, the right of self-determination of the Kashmir people was, therefore, recognised by both nationally and internationally and even under the U.N.Security Council resolutions passed in March, 1948.

As the party's first and foremost contention was to secure to the people of Kashmir their sacred right of self-determination, it was the corner stone of party ideology. The party also believed in the ideology of constitutionalism, non-violence and peaceful cooperation as methods for the attainment of its objective and aims. Its leadership had also a faith in the ideology of secularism and democracy. While discarding the role of religion in politics and stressing that there was no place for communalism in its politics and political programme, they declared that "communal hatred and disharmony is repugnant to any ideology". Moreover, the party never favoured the disintegration of the state.

Another important ideological ingredient of the party was its belief in human rights and liberties.

The party, therefore, strongly opposed oppressive laws such as Preventive Detention Act, The Enemy Agent Ordinance, The Defence Rules etc., which could be used on any pretext for curbing human liberties and civil rights for the people.

Support base of the Party

The Plebiscite Front gained strength with the passage of time and became the most effective and influential party in the valley as well as in muslim belt of Jammu region. It generally attracted the elements having affinity with the principle of Kashmir sub-nationalism represented by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, those having ideological affinity with the Two Nation Theory and were not prepared to sacrifice their religion and ideology at the alter of good relationship with India and who cherished the idea of independent Kashmir.

The Front had made an attempt to infiltrate into the trade union sphere and managed to control the Silk Factory Workers Union, Boatmen's Unions and the students union such as youngmen's League.

The Front had also supporting bases in some of the foreign countries i.e., Kashmiri's settled in U.K., U.S.A., and in other countries. The party also got monetary as well as moral support from European and some middle eastern countries.

Strategy and Tactics

In order to mobilize the public opinion in support of its basic demand for right of self-determination, 'The imparting political education to the masses' was the common and overall strategy adopted by the Front. The party, therefore, organised processions and public meetings in which its leadership demanded withdrawal of Indian army from the state and of the holding of Plebiscite under United Nations auspices. An under-ground war council was also set up to conduct the passive, non-violent movement. The demonstrations by women marked a special feature of the movement for Plebiscite. With a view to educate the masses politically, huge literature was published and distributed sacred religious places such as Dargah-i-Hazratbal etc., where the Front could find a read-made and easy audience for propagation of its aims, objectives and programmes, were exploited. The party organised strikes hartals, street processions, demonstrations and slogan shouting also.

Another strategy adopted by the Front was to prepare people for non-cooperation with the governments of the state and the centre. The party tried to highlight the failures of the governments in various spheres and underrate the benefits to the people from various measures taken by the governments to ameliorate their lot. In other words, the Front's endeavour was to underrate the state's links with India and to stress the importance of her like with Pakistan.

The Front electoral Performance

In the initial stage the Front condemned the contesting of Elections and criticised those who wanted to enter the election arena. But later on apprehending cracks in the party, it decided to contest elections to prove to the world how popular the party was in Kashmir. The party, therefore, decided to enter 1972 election. However, the nomination papers of the Front candidates were rejected on the ground they were anti-national. But a few candidates like Mirza Arif Beg, Mufti Mehraj Din and Aya Syed Afzal Jalali-enjoying the Front support contested the election. The party even extended its support to the candidates of Jamiat-e-Islamia. But the massive victory of the Front candidates in the civic polls had given legitimacy to its stand. The Plebiscite Front was hereby three months old when M.A.Beg - the President of the party alongwith several top leaders of the party were arrested on 19th November 1955. Inspite of this a two-day's convention of the party workers was convened at Anantnag in the last week of November 1955 which was attended by more than fifty thousands people. Several resolutions were passed urging the government of India to implement the U.N.O. resolutions on Kashmir and to honour her solemn pledges of holding free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir for the democratic settlement of the accession question. Between 19th November, 1955 and 19th September, 1956, four Presidents including

M.A. Beg of the party were arrested. The party then decided to boycott the proceedings of the Kashmir assembly. Thousands telegrams were then sent to the President of the assembly by the party to desist from Constitution making. The Front challenged the competence of the assembly to frame the constitution on the plea that following the dismissal and the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as well as many of his colleagues, the assembly had lost its representative character. As such, in their absence and in the absence of 25 members assigned to the territorial constituencies under the Pak-occupied Kashmir, no decision regarding the future of the state and finality of the issues could be decided by it. Protest meetings were held where the members of the party reiterated their faith in the right of self-determination. Although the party also boycotted the Assembly Election of 1957, yet it played an important role as an opposition from outside. The Front, however, became the party more of Pro-Pakistan elements rather than being a secular party as was claimed earlier. There was a regular contacts between the Plebiscite Front leadership and the Pak Agencies. According to B.N. Malik the incriminating letters were recovered from Mirza Afzal Beg. However, at the time of his arrest in 1956. He also ascerted that a regular communication was being maintained between the war council of Pakistan and Plebiscite Front leaders by means couriers.

The Front had very sagaciously chosen its strategy to internationalise Kashmir issue and to bring pressure

upon the Government of India to concede to its demand for Plebiscite. Its leadership, therefore, appealed to conscience of the world statesmen, politicians and the head of the Governments for extending their supports to the demand of the Kashmiris for Plebiscite as agreed to by the various resolutions of the Security Council. Memorandums were submitted to the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference held in London on September 9, 1962 to the President of U.S.A. on his visit to India in 1959 and to Frank Graham, the special U.N. representative for Kashmir on his visit to Indian sub-continent in January, 1959 urging them to see that the security council resolution for Plebiscite in Kashmir be implemented with further delay. Similar appeals were made to the U.N. Secretary General, The President of the U.N.O. General Assembly and the Muslim Countries to help in the solution of the Kashmir dispute.

The Holy relic episode of 1963 provided another opportunity to the Plebiscite Front to further extend its influence in the valley. The party forged an alliance with the Awami Action Committee of Maulvi Faroog to give a lead to the people of the valley in such an hour of grave crisis. The honeymoon between the two parties, however, broke down after the recovery of the holy relic. The Awami Action Committee then stole some of the thunderous of the Plebiscite Front. It then could not claim to be sole representative of the Muslims of the valley.

Pakistan's failure to capture the state with the help of large scale infiltration in 1965, however, gave rise to extremism in the valley. The then newly emerging youth leaders accused the Plebiscite Front of inaction when Pakistan was trying to liberate Kashmir. On October 1, 1965 during meeting at Hazaratbal Shrine several students captured the dias and blamed the leadership of Front for being stooges of the Indian Government.

However, after the historic/Indira-Sheikh Accord of 1975, the J&K Plebiscite Front, was considered to be irrelevant and was therefore, dissolved the Party was then redesignated as the All J&K National Conference.

Thus, the politics of the All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front right from its inception till 1975, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah assumed political power, seemed simply to be a protest Movement. After 1975 till his death, Sheikh Mohd Abdullah simply harped on the same tune of state autonomy and the issues of state accession and the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris were relegated to the background. One may, therefore conclude that the politics of Plebiscite was played simply for political bargaining and the bargain was astutely structured in the shape of Indira-Sheikh Accord 1975.

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13

TWO OUTLETS OF JAMMU'S ASPIRATIONS

Dr. Vidya Bhushan

Geographically, culturally, racially, linguistically and ethenically the State of Jammu and Kashmir is not a homogeneous unit of Indian Union. Being multi-lingual State it is composed of three principal socio-cultural, viable and disparate units- Jammu, Kashmir Valley and Ladakh. These regions have distinct regional and political personalities.

In fact, political and emotional divergence between regions has been growing over years. As there exists communal dichotomy, regionalism, an awareness of one's own cultural heritage, historical traditions and a sense of political individually. There have been contradictions and- contravensies, turmoils and clashes of conflicting interests of different regions. The Dogra ruler, the Maharaja Gulab Singh, though brought the three regions under his control, yet there never had been cultural, ethnic and social integration of the people of the regions. It was merely a political union for administrative convenience rather than a fusion of different streams of cultures, ways of life and thought.

Out of three regions of the State Jammu region with 27,18,113 inhabitants 26,000 sq.km. area is now number two in population as well as in area, Kashmir Valley, on the other hand, with 31,34,904 inhabitants and two fifth of its area out numbers Jammu by just about four lakhs. But Ladakh with 1,34,372 population is four times in territory.

Dogras with dogri mother tongue is single largest linguistic community in Jammu region. As an indispensable geopolitical link between the Kashmir Valley and rest of India, Jammu is as important strategically and sensitively as Kashmir region of J&K State. However, geographical boundaries- between the Ravi and Pirpanhal, to the greater extent, have contributed in the evaluation of distinct personality of this region.

Unfortunately Kashmiri leaders, during their struggle against autocracy, often insisted on calling Hari's rule in the State as Dogra rule. They forgot that Dogra was not only the name of the ruling family but also the community living in Jammu region. Thus they alienated the Dogra people.

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The popular sentiments in Jammu region believing the Maharaja as the symbol of their security against the majority population of Kashmir region, linked their fate and security with the Maharaja. The Dogra nationalists in Jammu region, particularly believing the Maharaja as a political and cultural symbol, sided with him in his attempt to retain more and more powers in pre-independence period. It seemed to Dogra Nationalists that prospectus of democracy would be nothing more than being exposed to the whims of a permanent majority of (Kashmiri muslims) the State and its leadership. They, thus, opposed the very basis of Kashmir's struggle for freedom. Their open condemnation of Maharaja or Dogra rule not only created but hardened their distrust against Kashmiri leadership. They, therefore, opposed every political move from the valley without evaluating its plus and minus points. They, thus, played a negative role throughout the period of struggle for freedom in Kashmir.

In order to have a greater security against the Maharaja's arbitrary the Kashmir nationalists, on the other hand, struggled for the transfer of greater degree of powers to the State legislature. They perceived their security only in the democracy which among other attributes, meant majority rule.

However, the post-independence politics of Jammu appeared to be both inter-regional and intra-regional conflicts. Believing their greater security with Indian Union, The Dogra Nationalists of Jammu demanded full integration of the State with India in post-independence. The ouster of Maharaja and subsequent abolition of monarchy further deepened the distrust of majority in Jammu against Kashmiri leadership. They could not visualize that the days of kings and princes had gone. Because of their negative attitudes they even opposed the most needed and most radical reforms of National Conference government of big landed estates and land to the tillers. They under the banner of Praja Parishad—the Principal opposition party, most vocal instrument of its protest and most authentic voice of Jammu—opposed the incorporation of Article 370 in the Indian constitution under which state secured a special status. They raised the slogans EK PRADHAN, EK VIDHAN AND EK NISHAN. They were not in a mood of raising the voice for right of Jammu viz-a-viz that of Kashmir. They narrowed down their demands to such a limit that they even lost the confidence of Jammu muslims. Some of the representation of Jammu muslims even approach the Government to

protect them from Parishad terrorism. The Hindu Dogras, likewise opposed the convening of the State consembly and framing a separate constitution.

Due to their minority against Indian majority, The Kashmir nationalists on the other, wanted maximum autonomy and stood for limited accession of the State with Indian Union. Thus, for making Article 370 as a permanent feature of the Indian Constitution. Sheikh Abdullah in his letter to Dr. Mukerjee dated 4th February, 1953 made it clear that so far as they were concerned they had maintained that the special position accorded to the State could alone be the source of a growing unity and closer association between the State and India. He further stressed that consembly of India took note of special circumstances obtaining in the State and made provisions accordingly. But if the basis of that relationship was sought to be altered, certain daring consequences were bound to follow.

The Dogra nationalists led by Praja Parishad always pleaded for transfer of more and more powers from Kashmir to Delhi rather than powers for Jammu itself. They never thought collectively about the whole of the State of J&K and their place in it. The Praja-Parishad leaders rather delivered the speeches "Our way is not with Kashmir. Sheikh is not acceptable to us". Whereas Sheikh Abdullah's efforts all along had been to rally the entire population of the State to a sense of basic unity and to work for the cause of building of the New Kashmir. The Kashmiri nationalist group, therefore, demanded maximum autonomy for the State.

In short regional sentiments helped to fragment popular discontent and regional tension brought the regional cordiality to an end.

As a result P.P. demanded the right of self determination for Jammu and termed Delhi Agreement of 1952 as a trend on Indian people and an attack on Indian constitution and Pt. Dogra threatened to launch a satyagrah if the agreement was enforced. P.P. backed by Jan Sangh started agitation against Delhi agreement as soon as the steps were taken to enforce its provisions. Meanwhile Kaushak BakulaHeat Lama of Ladakh and member of consembly demanded for a statutory provision for Ladakh in future constitution of the State. A section of Doda

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-4-

district led by A.G. Goni too stressed that Doda district should be given a status of a separate cultural unit. They demanded that the State to be divided into as many as five cultural units, each with equal status and to enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their internal affairs. Even Dr. Mukerjee in his letter to Sheikh Sheikh Sahib dated 4.2.1953 confirmed the sense of insecurity among the Jammu Hindus and in his letter to Pt. Nehru dated 12.2.1953 ~~suggested~~ suggested grant of provincial autonomy to Jammu and Ladakh without the change of boundaries. Pt. Nehru too in his reply to Mukerjee appreciated the idea of regional autonomy. Sheikh Abdullah while broadcasting from Radio Kashmir Srinagar on April 17th 1953 also proposed to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the state. The idea seemed to be that a measure of autonomy in their internal affairs would remove the fears of each of these units against the others and would provide a moral natural and non-communal impetus for a sense of belonging as well as political participation, such a sense of belonging alone could effectively counter the appeal for succession in the valley and communalism in Jammu.

But when the basic principal committee of the assembly was instructed to study the idea of extending autonomy to each unit and to make recommendations accordingly, the integrationists of Jammu rejected this idea also. Perhaps their policy for the search for security induced them to follow a negative approach and to agitate for highly unified constitution. In the similar manner they opposed sadar-i-riyasat as the head of the State a separate emblem and a separate flag for the State. They regarded these as counter to their concept of strong unite centre. Such a stand of Jammu guaranteed reaction in the valley provoked some of the Kashmiris to consolidate secessionist groups and to form secessionist party. B.P. Sharma was of the view that the role of Jammu and Kashmir in State politics was complementary to each other though unwillingly. This observation had also been confirmed by the statement of Mr. Gurcharan Singh Bhatia in early 1953 when he said "National Conference and Praja Parishad represent urges of the aggressive local nationalism of Kashmir and Jammu respectively. The outbursts of the Kashmiri leaders against Jammu help Praja Parishad in mobilizing the public support while anti-Kashmiri campaign of the PP simply provokes and intensifies kashmiri nationalism of which Sheikh Abdullah is the hero". Balraj also confirmed the same view and said that the Praja

...5th page

Parishad and the national Conference by polarising the politics of the State helped each other in consolidating their hold on their respective communities (JK P.107)

Suddenly inflammatory reports spread that Sheikh was thinking to declare Kashmir an independent, the idea of which said to have been mooted by American statesman, Mrs. and Mr. Henderson during their visit to Kashmir in May 1953. The tragedy was that Sheikh Abdullah was misunderstood and his urge for maximum autonomy for the State was just taken for independence. All along he tried to avoid the disintegration of the State. That was why, in order to accommodate the wishes of the masses of the different regional and cultural units of the State. He and his colleagues were working to create a republic, with federal set up, within the republic. Even Sri Amar Kashtriya Prantik Sabha Jammu the idea of republic within republic and the adoption of State emblem. It termed the assembly of Kashmir as bogus assembly.

Meanwhile with the sudden death of Dr. S.P. Mukherjee in detention, the whole northern India plunged into profound grief and submerged by a kind of Anti-Nehru and Anti-Abdullah wave. P.P. refused to believe that death occurred in Natural circumstances and charged Sheikh Abdullah as murder in spite of the fact he pleaded to be innocent.

However, the first popular elected Sheikh Ministry was dismissed on 8th August 1953 and Sheikh along with his other supporters were arrested on 9th August. But Sheikh's political martyrdom had made him a popular hero of Kashmir once again. Bakshi, who succeeded Sheikh, while broadcasting from Radio Kashmir on 21st August, 1953 declared, "the rights and privileges that we secure for the State as a whole have to be shared in equal measure by the people of its different parts; the Government secure equal share of its beneficial activities to the people of various constituent units of the State and to safeguard representation of all regions in every sphere of administration and social life (J&K (B)-P 128-129)

Dogra Nationalists seemed to be pacified with the fall of first Sheikh Ministry and his arrest. That was why, Praja Parishad leaders easily fell in the trap of Bakshi, who required their support to consolidate his political position.

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-6-

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra in his letter to Bakshi dated 1.2.1954 remanded him his assurances made to him and pleaded for their fulfilment. However, the basic principal committee submitted report to the consembly which was adopted unanimously with minor amendment on 6th February, 1954 . Pt. Prem Nath Dogra in his 15 pages memorandum submitted to the President of India on first April 1954 raised number of objections against the constitutional proposals. Here again he demanded the shift of more and more powers from Kashmir to the central Govt. rather than demanding the sharing of the political powers with Kashmir. Bakshi succeed in creating defaction with P.P. by distributing favours to some of its leaders.

Even after the merger of PP in Jana Sangh in 1964 the Dogra Nationalists of Jammu continued to play a nagative role. They were always worried about the shift of more and more powers from Kashmir to Delhi but never thought and fought for Jammu's status within the state and for Jammu to be equalable partner with the valley in exercise of political powers.

With regrets it is to be pointedout that Jammu protests and scrifies during all the years got into a defeatest channel . The Dogra nationalist failed to understand that the lack of adequate share in political power was one of the basic problems of Jammu. Jammu needed the safeguards within the State onprecisely the same grounds on which Kashmir feels the need within Indian union.

India too played a negative role. The Indian leadership always thought that Jammu and Ladakh had no other place except India. Whenever ,therefore, people of Jammu raised their voice for their rights, they were doubted by them as communalist. Their eyes always focussed on valley in order to improve their secular image in the world. Whatever concessions were given, given to the valley and they did not bother much for Jammu and Ladakh regions. Even in post Indira -Sheikh accord of 1975 when Sheikh accepted the finality of State **accession to India and disbanded People's front, instead of fighting for the right of Jammu, the Congress Party.**

Some individuals and groups in Jammu, though in minority ,with not much popular basis did try to play a position role als. In the earlier phase the demand for recognition of Jammu's regional identity, regional leadership and its quialable share in the power,structure of the state was made by a group within the framework of national conference. The Jammu

...7th page

District National Conference led by Balraj Puri group passed formal resolution as early as 1949, demanding the abolition of the institution of monarchy and the powers transferred to the people of Jammu like Gopal Dutt Mengi and Jyotshi Ram Krishan also. These demands of national conference .But soon after the abdication of Maharaja in 1949, this group was expelled from the National Conference.

Unfortunately ,such leaders were not given National Conference mandate in constituency elections of 1951.

Balraj Puri and other ,however, continued to suggest political means to define Jammu's status in the State. His main emphasis was that whatever measures of autonomy had been promised to the State within Indian Union should also be conceded to Jammu region on the similar grounds .He not only supported the radical reforms like land reporting but also incorporation of article 370 in the Indian constitution.His stand was to fight for the rightof Jammu and its status viz-aviz of Kashmir without offending the people of Kashmiry by agitating against the Kashmir's special status in Indian union and her right to defend maximum autonomy. Even at the time of negotiation for the Delhi agreement af 1952, he pleaded for regional autonomy for Jammu.

The J&K youth conference and friends of new Kashmir,Delhi also played a role . to articulate Jammu's regional urges on secular lines. The socialist groups also demanded the regional autonomy for Jammu. Later on they formed P.S. Party .The Praja Socialist Party not only supported autonomy of State within Indian union but decentralisation of powers among different regions inorder to improve inter-regional coordiality.

A Jammu autonomy forum was set up under the Presidentship of Balraj Puri in June 1967 to press the demand of regional autonomy. A group of Jana Sangh workers ledby S.Bachan Singh Panchhi left the party to support the autonomous status of Jammu. Even P.N.Bazaz,Shamim-Ahmid-Shamim ,Mubark Shah and other prominent citizens of different communities -also supported this demand.

However, Maya Prakash Narayan pleaded for Sheikh release and starting fresh dialogue with him. Thus in January 1968 after his release third time since 1953, Sheikh met P.M. of India. He convened J&K State people's convention in Oct. 1968. Jammu was represented by Balraj Puri .The convention debated the inter-regional relations in the State. The consensus emerged that any

solution of the State's future should be 'peaceful', democratic, just and realistic and keep in view the interests of all the regions, strengthen secular democratic forces, foster communal harmony and be in conformity with the values of the freedom movement. According to Balraj Puri, "The convention also accepted the inter-regional boundaries of pre-1947 state and set at rest a controversy which was ~~the~~ one of the sources of tensions in inter regional relations. The atrocities committed by the Pak armies on their Muslim brothers in civil war in east Pakistan, the assistance rendered by India to them and subsequent emergence of Bangladesh ~~as~~ as an independent country had a considerable effect on Kashmir politics. It strengthened the secular forces, reduced the bargaining capacity of the Kashmiri leaders to balance India and Pakistan, created popular disillusionment with Pakistan and resurgence of regional Patriotism against the appeal of Muslim solidarity (J&K P 170)

This Indo-Pakwar of 1971 and emergence of Bagladesh created favourable atmosphere for the negotiations between Kashmiri and Indian leadership to sought out differences. Some of the national as well as the State personalities tried to play mediatory role between Sheikh Abdullah and Indian leadership. Balraj Puri claimed to be one of those and helped Jammu to a bridge rather than barrier between Kashmir and rest of the country. But the State Jana Sangh still remained adamant against placating the Kashmir leaders particularly Sheikh Abdullah.

However, After 22 years the wisdom downed upon the Indian leaders once again that Sheikh Abdullah was an undisputed leader of the valley and only person who could set at rest the most of the controversies about Kashmir accession and others. The negotiation between PM and Sheikh Abdullah started and resulted into Indira -Sheikh accord of 1975.

For over half a century ,till his death Sheikh Abdullah symbolized the aspirations of regional national of Kashmir .He could ,therefore, had the capacity to settle the problem of inter-regional relations. In the last phase of his life he reacted sharply even the slightest provocation from Jammu region. For instance, when Dr. Karan Singh in December, 1978 said , "If state Govt. did not tackle Jammu situation with understanding and sympathy, it would lead to

separation of Jammu region from Kashmir valley." Sheikh reacted quickly and said 'if the majority of people in Jammu region believed that they could progress by carving out a separate state of Jammu, then there was nothing to stop them and we must part as friends.' Due to the opposition of Jana Sangh and congress parties in Jammu he even could not implement the decisions of J&K State People's Convention of 1968 relating to inter-regional relationship.

However, bulk of people in Jammu have now accepted that article 370 of the Indian Constitution cannot be abrogated unilaterally .

Some of the dogra nationalist agreed with the Kashmiri nationalist that this article is a bridge between Kashmir and rest of the country . Balraj Puri is of the opinion that regional identities are now getting stabilized and even a party like BJP unlike its predecessors Jane Sangh and PP has accepted the essence of it by adopting the demand for constitutional safeguards for region (its memorandum to Governor of the State KT of January 1982).

I may conclude that one aspect of Jammu politics contributed towards alienation of Kashmiri muslim from rest of the country and by turning Jammu as a barrier between Kashmir and rest of the country, played a negative role. An equally important role was also played by an other section of Jammu politics in reintegration of Kashmir with national politics and thus, Jammu to act as real bridge politically as well as geographically between Kashmir leaders and National leaders.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM. Nationalism is a state or condition of mind characteristic of certain peoples with a homogeneous culture, living together in close association on a given territory, and sharing a belief in a distinctive existence and a common destiny. Such persons have a deep sense of belonging, a keen feeling of loyalty to the in-group, and a desire to contribute to its welfare. These sentiments lead to like-mindedness, conformity, and even exclusiveness, which find their expression in group action designed to add to the liberty, prestige, prosperity and power of the nation. Nationalism connotes a loyalty to the group entity superior to all other loyalties, a pride in its achievements, and a belief in its excellence, or even superiority over all other similar entities, and thus readily leads to aggressiveness. As such, while its greatest impulsion has come from intellectual circles, it makes its greatest appeal to the masses. This state of mind may change substantially in intensity and depth, depending upon conditions of time and place. It varies all the way from the healthy patriotism of the Swiss nation to the fanatical intolerance of Nazi Germany.

Nationality.—Loyalty to the in-group, the core of nationalism, is of a type with similar feelings of attachment to tribe, clan, caste, or city. But eventually the sights are raised, and the focus is the larger group entity, the nation or the state. Nation and state may be one and the same, as in the case of the United States; indeed, most of the states of the world today are of the nature of nation-states. But an entity may be classed as a nation because it has attained a high degree of cultural homogeneity, although it is under the domination of another power, as in the case of Poland after its partition.

The nation is an aggregate of individuals united by certain ties—political, racial, religious, cultural (including language), and historical, notably a common origin or at least a belief therein. In any particular case, it may be that not all these bonds are present. Switzerland is a strongly integrated nation, although in each of its three separate divisions a different tongue is spoken. Race is also a powerful bond of unity, but there are strong nations which seem able to get along despite the presence of several races within their frontiers. The same is true of religion. In the usual case, religion is a strong bulwark of nationhood, although some strong nations have within their borders two or more religious faiths. The most important consideration in this matter is a corporate will: a sufficiently powerful determination to live and work together. For, as Giuseppe Mazzini once said, nationalism is "the consciousness of a mission to be fulfilled for the sake of mankind. It does not depend upon race or descent, but upon a common thought and a common goal."

BASIS OF NATIONHOOD

Having defined nationalism and nationality, we may proceed now to a discussion of the basic foundations of nationhood—the factors of language, race, national character, religion, territory, political institutions, and economic integration.

Language.—The factor of national language is of the utmost importance; it can be considered the major distinguishing mark of nationality. People speaking the same language obviously can

understand one another, and this fact alone contributes to a sense of belonging, a sentiment of solidarity. Most men really feel at home only in their own tongue. Furthermore, possession of means of mutual communication permits the development of a national literature. Its earliest manifestations usually take the form of patriotic ballads and sagas, glorifying heroes and military victories in the nation's history. Thus is group loyalty inseminated. It is significant that after the Norman Conquest, English nationality had little chance to emerge before the fusion of Anglo-Saxon with Norman French to form a single English language. As the nation evolves, a writer of great eminence and force may emerge to contribute further to the creation of group consciousness, both because of the influence of his work, and because the masses, by honoring him, honor the country from which he sprang. Such a role was played in England by Chaucer and Shakespeare, in Spain by Cervantes, in Italy by Dante. It is thus evident that nothing makes a larger contribution to the emergence of a distinctive culture and way of life than the national language. The invention of printing was a milestone in this movement. The cheap newspaper which was the result of this epochal invention made possible the propaganda of the French Revolution, described below. Without the cheap printing press the emergence of the "nation in arms" in 1792 is almost inconceivable. Further proof of the close relationship between language and nationalism is found in the efforts of extremely nationalistic states to suppress rival languages and to exalt and propagate their own. In this connection should be noted the tendency of newly emancipated states to revive their ancient script, and to take extreme measures to obliterate the use of the language formerly current, especially if it is that of a hated former ruler.

It is not implied that the possession of a single national language is absolutely essential to the creation of group consciousness. In Belgium, Canada, and South Africa more than one official language is in use. The case of Switzerland has already been mentioned. But rival languages are undoubtedly a serious handicap which can be overcome only if other factors, for instance the fear of attack from abroad, are able to engender a sufficient degree of national unity.

Race.—Among the foundations of nationalism the factor of language, just discussed, is closely allied with the matter of race. When a given people is fired by a profound belief—whether true or false—that they are of common or even exclusive racial stock, they are well on their way to that group consciousness and pride which are the soul of nationalism and which sometimes develop into a belief that they are superior to all others. Many leaders have fostered the idea that their people are "God's chosen." Joseph Chamberlain wrote, "The Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the predominant race in the history and civilization of the world." Other writers, like Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, confusing language and race, have contrived to create the myth of a peculiar Aryan race represented as superior to all others. Adolf Hitler, making wide use of the writings of Heinrich von Treitschke, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, Adam Heinrich Müller, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and that official spokesman for Nazi supremacy, Hans Günther, forced on the Germans that poisonous doctrine—an intolerant belief in the purity

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

and supremacy of the blond-Nordic. This concept was invoked to justify the extermination of millions of Jews and the aggressive annexation of Austria, the Sudetenland, and Alsace-Lorraine. But while some of the worst manifestations of racialism were found in Nazi Germany and Japan, no great power has been entirely free from similar aberrations. Even small powers have given way to the temptations of racial prejudice and bigotry.

The dynamic forces of racialism are actually based on myth, but they are nonetheless potent and dangerous—since what counts in this matter is not so much what is true, but what one believes to be true. It should never be forgotten, however, that modern scholarship has demonstrated, first, that there is no such thing as a pure race and, second, that no race can be proved to be superior. This is particularly true of the Nazi concept of a distinct Nordic race, denied by all reputable anthropologists throughout the world. In fact, what is known as race is really a mere matter of environment, and race prejudice an artificial phenomenon, the creation of accident and the product of teaching and propaganda. Nevertheless, all peoples seem to be particularly susceptible to incitements through press, platform, and personal influence designed to arouse and stimulate pride of race. In fact, so great is the temptation for every nation to erect about itself high walls of race prejudice and exclusivism, that one of the first steps toward the creation of an effective international organization would have to be to break through these walls and work to promote a higher form of loyalty, namely, loyalty to the whole human race.

National Character.—A most significant factor in the evolution of modern nationalism is found in the growth of national character. That nations possess peculiar traits and distinct characteristics is generally admitted by scholars, although the latter deny that these are attributable to factors of race or origin. The explanation is found rather in the influence of environment—the effect of living together for generations under the same type of laws and government, in given conditions of economic life, territory, geography, climate, and world position, which produce a relative conformity and constancy of attitude. But national character is not completely constant or unchangeable; in the 17th century the Germans were generally indolent and peaceful, the British rebellious and turbulent. And the Americans, for so long isolationist in foreign affairs and in their relations with Europeans, curiously subject to an inferiority complex, show few signs of either of these traits today. Nevertheless, national character, and particularly a belief therein, plays an important role in the development of national consciousness. A peculiar pattern of institutions, customs and beliefs, including a distinctive development of the art forms, gives dignity to group life and a certain sense of belonging which are the very essence of the national spirit.

One important aspect of the culture pattern is a tendency to cherish historical traditions, notably by purposeful commemoration of historical events such as national independence and great military victories. Beloved national heroes of both peace and war are glorified and their praises sung. Pilgrimages to battlefields and the birthplaces of great men of the past are fostered. Such tendencies have been particularly apparent

in Soviet Russia during the years after World War II, leading many authorities to believe that Russian nationalism, rather than the propagation of world revolution, is now the chief motive force in the Kremlin.

Religion.—Religion has always played a major role in the march of nationalism, and in fact in its primitive manifestations nationalism was really a religious phenomenon. This, however, has not continued to be the case; most religions today extend across a number of frontiers, as is the case with Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism. And in some strong nations—the United States, for instance—freedom of religion has prevailed and numerous cults have flourished. Religious differences within a given nation have hindered or postponed the spread of nationalism, and the existence of a single powerful national church has been a potent nationalistic factor. This is particularly true when adherence to a given church is shared by the larger part of the population, and even more so where the church is "national" in the sense of belonging exclusively to one state, giving the people the sense of possessing something peculiarly sacred which is all their own. That there is a deep-rooted relationship between religion and the cult of the nation is shown by the canonization of Joan of Arc, and the tendency of some peoples to revere their national heroes as saints. The extent to which religion and nationalism may go hand in hand is shown by the role of Roman Catholicism in Ireland and in Prussian Poland; in both cases the church was largely instrumental in keeping the national spirit alive in the face of foreign domination. A similar role was played by the Scottish kirk after the 17th century; it differentiated the Scots sharply from the English and fed the flame of national sentiment as probably nothing else in the circumstances could have done. Coming to modern times, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia showed their respect for the power of the church over the emotions of the people by taking the most extreme measures to mold it according to the needs of the national myth. It is interesting, too, that at the present time it is customary for the church, even in the freest countries, to preach the necessity of loyalty to the flag and obedience to secular authority. This is undoubtedly a prudent policy, since nowhere in our present-day world is the church in a position to challenge the power of the state to hold the loyalty and fidelity of the ordinary citizen.

Territory.—The fact that a given people is conscious of living within definite frontiers on a given portion of the world's surface constitutes an important element in the acquisition of nationhood. This is true despite the cases of those nations—the Poles in Russia, the Czechs in Austria-Hungary, and the Scots in Britain—which successfully maintained an intense group loyalty and patriotism while mere subdivisions of the larger entity by which they had been subjugated. Some nations have actually been formed precisely because they were a geographic-political entity with definite frontiers. At times the acquisition of too great an expanse of national domain has weakened the hold of group consciousness; but today, due to rapidity of modern modes of travel and the existence of remarkable methods of mass indoctrination—cheap newspapers, the cinema, radio, and television—it is possible to tighten and maintain the bonds of national unity even to the

remotest corner of the widest realm. In fact, the existence of such modern methods holds out hope that some day it may be possible to inculcate a sense of group loyalty and a feeling of mutual understanding throughout the entire globe.

Political Institutions.—There is a close connection between the emergence of political institutions in a given area and the intensification of the national sentiment. Consciousness of group solidarity—to put it more simply, the ability to live together smoothly and peacefully—is undoubtedly a prerequisite to the successful operation of common agencies and procedures of government. If the integration comes about by agreement, as in the case of the 13 British colonies that joined to form the United States, such sociological-psychological solidarity may be absolutely essential. But even where unification comes about by force, unless there is a certain degree of group understanding and loyalty, the union may not be able to endure. On the other hand, the existence of common political institutions—notably a strong central government—may itself exert a commanding influence in engendering and consolidating the national sentiment of a given people. Germany's unification was finally consummated only after Bismarck had imposed on the many local and rival sovereigns of that divided country the authority of a powerful central government. In the United States, without the centralizing influence of the federal government, acting under the firm authority of a Constitution whose integrity was guaranteed by that extraordinary institution, the Supreme Court, it is difficult to conceive how national solidarity could ever have been achieved; the disastrous experience of the new republic under the Articles of Confederation shows that this assertion is not based on mere speculation. A strong government is the focus of loyalty. It is depended upon for the most vital services to the people—the public order and the general welfare at home, and security against invasion from abroad. In fact it is the supreme agency for the pursuit of unfulfilled national aspirations. As it meets these responsibilities, it is loved and respected, its leaders revered and honored. Even more, once the government has been established, it has at its disposal remarkably effective means for the spread of patriotic loyalty among the masses; it may create it by education and propaganda, or even impose it by force of law.

Economic Factors.—The division of the world into strong nations is explainable in part by economic factors. At the close of the Middle Ages, the growth of great national states proceeded hand in hand with a remarkable commercial and economic expansion. The rivalry between states was tremendously stimulated by the great discoveries and by the colonizations that followed and facilitated the acquisition by each state of a distinctive national character. Furthermore, under the influence of mercantilism, the economic life of the nation, hitherto almost purely local, took on a national character, as commerce and trade came under the control of strong centralized governments. This process was greatly stimulated by improvements in means of travel and communication. The predominant influence of mercantilism served to strengthen the hold of the government over every aspect of the economic activity of the nation. Every effort was made to render the state self-sufficient. Thus exports were stimulated, imports discouraged, and

the colonies integrated with the economic home front. This extraordinary economic expansion was buttressed by military power, notably by the building of great navies designed to protect the far-flung interests of the metropolis. In the process vast fortunes were amassed, and new heroes emerged, thus creating a new, influential class of persons, those most interested in inculcating among the masses a spirit of national exclusiveness. Furthermore, this class possessed the most potent agencies of propaganda to accomplish this purpose.

Coming to modern times, the close connection between economic factors and nationhood is quite evident. International competition for markets, rivalry for scarce raw materials, the tendency of the government to replace the individual in buying and selling in the international field, and even in banking, the frantic exclusiveness induced by depression and inflation, have led to a bewildering maze of measures of autarchy—quotas, subsidies, exchange controls, high tariffs, and other restrictions—and have served to heighten national feeling and hamper the growth of international understanding. Economic nationalism seems to be most prevalent in those countries least able to stand the pressure of international competition. The weak power is the first to suffer unrest and disunity, to demand a strong government to repress "subversion," and to set in motion the defensive and offensive measures deemed necessary to meet the emergency; but even the strongest powers have not been free from similar phenomena.

GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

Although nationalism is distinctly a modern development, its roots lie in the period when prehistoric men first organized themselves into tribes. For the tribe, with its intense religious loyalty, fierce clannishness, local pride, and hatred of the "barbarian," shows many of the traits of present-day nationalism. In tribal society, the struggle for the preservation and extension of group solidarity was waged intensively. On the other hand, the main bond among tribesmen was that of blood kinship, while relations within the tribe were personal rather than political. Moreover, at this period in man's development there was little trace of patriotism, or love of homeland; the sense of attachment to a particular territory developed later.

City-States.—The first signs of patriotism appear with the rise of the early city-states, when for various reasons—considerations of defense, economic advantages, religious values—men began to group themselves about certain vantage points. Here the growth of commerce at home and of foreign trade abroad led to the first breakup of the tribal system, and brought the first traces of the modern political system. A typical example of the early city-state—and the most famous—is provided by the story of Athens. Here was developed a strong sense of group solidarity. The citizen was conscious of a common origin, a distinctive cultural pattern, and an assumed common destiny. Cultural homogeneity was further enhanced by religious rites glorifying the national heroes and reinforcing a sense of superiority with respect to the foreigner or "barbarian." Furthermore, the citizens had become attached to a given territory. Thus in Athens we find many of the elements of modern nationalism.

But the city-states gave way to the patriarchal empires, a process brought about by the expansion of one city-state or its conquest by a rival power on the rise. Such expansion augmented the national pride of the conquering power, kindling further the national spirit, and at the same time served to intensify the group loyalty of the submerged or conquered minority. The best example of such an entity is the great Roman Empire. In its aggressive, unprincipled and hypocritical foreign policy it reminds us of the integral nationalism practiced by Hitler and Mussolini. But it lacked the cultural homogeneity, the intense feeling of patriotism, and the overall sense of loyalty to a state or sovereign characteristic of nationalism as we know it today.

Middle Ages.—If, in the city-state and the patriarchal empire, the historian can find many of the typical features of present-day nationalism, the same cannot be said of the period of the Middle Ages. The basic unit of political organization, the feudal domain, did not lend itself to the development of group solidarity, nor permit the growth of any national sentiment. Mankind in general lived in groups too isolated, too poor and small, too provincial, to feel any sense of attachment to a national or cultural entity. Medieval towns, in general, were so separated from one another and so dominated by a spirit of localism that they could not serve as the basis for any larger group loyalty. Furthermore, there existed a measure of universal solidarity which was incompatible with the separatism characteristic of nationalism. The church was a major focus of individual loyalty, and its sway was almost universal. The Holy Roman Empire, too, despite its weakness, exercised for a considerable time a cosmopolitan influence. In this matter it is significant that nationalism evolved most rapidly in those lands, notably in France and England, where the imperial power was most remote and its influence weakest. Another factor was the existence of a fierce parochialism within each entity later to become a nation; thus where Scottish clan hated its neighbor clan there was little chance, except perhaps in time of great peril, that all the clans together could feel a national spirit of solidarity as against England or even France. It was necessary to await the consolidation of the king's authority over the realm before the nation could emerge. Here the work of Henry IV in France and of Henry VII and Henry VIII in England is most significant. This crucial task accomplished by the monarch was made possible by a great commercial revolution, enabling a new middle class to emerge, which allied itself with the king and gave him the support required to overcome the anarchy and decentralization of the feudal system. It is also worth noting that national consolidation was accomplished earliest where the geographical situation was most favorable, as in England, isolated as she was from the Continent, and in France, where the king could operate from the strongly fortified bastion built about Paris, in the region known as the Ile de France. The process of consolidation went on in England, Spain, France, Russia, and Poland, with the result that by the middle of the 18th century national states had emerged in most of Europe. In the Balkans, however, and in Germany and Italy, this movement was postponed for another hundred years.

As powerful monarchs were gradually establishing their authority and laying the foundation

for separate statehood, other important influences were at work. One was the slow but sure development of national languages, already discussed. This came about hand in hand with the weakening of Latin as the language of universal use for education, literature, and diplomacy. As a consequence national literatures emerged, permitting the dissemination among the masses of works which kindled the national spirit and engendered a consciousness of separate existence. Another result was the weakening of the church's hold over education, which gradually became more and more secular and at the same time less universal in outlook.

The Reformation, the rise of Protestantism, and the growing emphasis upon national churches all contributed to the consolidation of separate, exclusive states. For instance, Presbyterianism in Scotland served to quicken the parochial spirit of its people and give them a sense of national exclusiveness. In Germany, the effect of Martin Luther's famous addresses was the amalgamation of religion and patriotism into a militant national faith.

Another influence favorable to the emergence of modern nationalism was offered by the great discoveries and the ensuing economic expansion of Europe. The bitter rivalries thus engendered fed the national spirit, the glorious deeds of discovery fired the national pride, and the great wars which followed had a dynamic and lasting effect in this same direction. Finally the traders, bankers, and shippers, a new class representing vast wealth and wielding great influence, were not slow to feed the flame, for they realized the necessity of gaining the support of the citizens, from whom they had to enlist the sailors and the fighters if the nation was to keep pace with its rivals. In this connection the role of mercantilism must not be neglected—the narrow commercial policies adopted in most states after 1500. This system operated to promote interstate rivalry and jealousies, intensify national pride, and promote international friction. It was therefore a heady stimulant to the pride and arrogance of nations.

The major role played by the monarch in laying the basis for the modern national state has already been mentioned. The local sway of the feudal lords and barons gradually had to give way before the emerging power of the king, permitting the development of national instrumentalities of government and the establishment of the "law of the realm." This was particularly true in England, where the common law finally consolidated its hold over the entire country, contributing immeasurably to the consciousness of the citizens that they were set apart from the rest of the world. In some states the appearance of democratic government was a further step in this direction.

The French Revolution.—It is impossible to fix a date for the beginning of modern nationalism. The underlying social, economic, political, and intellectual forces accomplished their work only gradually, and at a different rate in each region depending upon the peculiar circumstances of the particular case. Some authorities place the actual origins of modern nationalism at the time of the Reformation; others date it from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which ushered in the modern system of independent sovereign states. Still other authorities, and they represent the majority, insist that nationalism as we know

began with the French Revolution. But, as we have seen, the way had already been opened by the emergence of a system of strong, well-integrated states, the work of powerful monarchs. Also, the minds of men had been prepared for the spirit of nationalism by the teachings of the Enlightenment in the 18th century. The great apostle of modern nationalism was Jean Jacques Rousseau. He stressed the value of the moral unity of the masses, who are bound together in pursuit of a common purpose—the good of the whole. Furthermore, he insisted that the community should be governed by laws issuing from the people themselves, and not from a divine-right monarch standing above the law. He emphasized the necessity of a supreme loyalty to *la patrie* (the fatherland), a duty so sacred as almost to become an article of religious faith. He decried any idea of fidelity to something higher, for instance world society or the entire human race. In short, he sought to arouse the masses to a belief in a common heritage and a common destiny, claiming for men a status of democratic equalitarianism, and for nations a right of self-determination. It was for the men of 1789 to put these principles into practice, at least for a time.

At first professing absolute fidelity to the doctrines of popular sovereignty, individual liberty, social equality and fraternity, the Jacobins, under the stress of rebellion at home and attack from abroad, soon allowed the movement to deteriorate. Force and militarism took precedence over humanitarianism and fraternal love. The movement became fanatical. Soon there began to emerge those remarkable instrumentalities of nationalism which have been so widely employed ever since, notably by totalitarian dictatorships, but which have not been neglected by the most advanced democracies. The concept of the "nation in arms," universal conscription, emotional appeals for flag and country, the composition of a national anthem, the glorification of national heroes, the establishment of a system of public education grounded in the vernacular and dedicated to spreading revolutionary doctrines, insistence on the universal use of the French language, invention of a new kind of popular journalism and, finally, the organization of impressive rituals in the form of national ceremonies—all were employed as part of a vast scheme to create and intensify a national cult.

The doctrines of the revolution were professed to be universal—not designed for Frenchmen alone—but before long the Jacobins were thinking in terms of selfish national interest. They embarked on expansion and conquest. Nationalism, then as always, feeds on war. As the sans-culottes marched to do battle abroad, they took their doctrines with them, and they spread their nationalism much faster than their democracy. This was true even before the rise of Napoleon, but when the Little Corporal assumed power he greatly intensified the development already under way. Fortified by supreme power and an admirable political organization and system of laws, he made excellent use of all the Jacobin paraphernalia of nationalism, employing it to the limit of his own keen shrewdness. Thus he was able to indoctrinate a whole generation of Frenchmen with the concepts of "glory." He taught lessons in this field which later governments, especially in other countries, have never forgotten. Everywhere he awakened submerged peoples to a

sense of their own destiny, and thus did much to start Italy and Germany on that march for unity which they were to achieve several generations later. In fact Napoleon, who was actually destroyed by the dynamic national spirit he did so much to create, initiated the upheaval which ultimately transformed the continent, dividing it into separate entities inspired by the fervor of nationalism.

The metamorphosis of French nationalism after 1792, transformed as it was from a liberal, universalist movement into one marked by reaction and conquest, illustrates a point already made, namely, that nationalism is always a creature of environment, subject to change. It can be democratic, liberal, or fascist, according to circumstances. At times it may not exceed the bounds of a healthy patriotism, at others it will be the cause or the result, or even both at once, of expansionism and war. The story of nationalism since 1815 will bear out this assertion.

The 19th Century.—The 19th century has been called by some authors the great age of nationalism. During most of the century, after the aberrations of the Jacobins and Napoleon Bonaparte, what has been called "liberal nationalism" was revived and became predominant. This is a type of group consciousness characterized by intense patriotism and loyalty but faithful to the doctrines of individual and national freedom, in other words, espousing human rights and the right of self-determination of peoples. It tends to be high-minded and altruistic, universalistic and pacific. One of the greatest movements to be inspired by this spirit was the American War of Independence. This revolution was liberal and humanitarian, fought in the name of the great liberal principles dating back to John Locke and the Puritan Revolution, so admirably reformulated by Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, and immortalized in the Declaration of Independence. In Britain, under the influence above all of Jeremy Bentham, liberal nationalism reached its highest point in the 19th century. As an intellectual movement it spread throughout western and central Europe. Based mainly on the middle classes, highly tinged with romanticism, and preaching the doctrine of free trade, this school of thought adopted certain typically Jacobin ideas, namely free popular education, universal military service, and popular journalism. These ideas were disseminated with great force and effect by Mazzini, who, as spiritual leader of the movement for unity and independence in Italy, became the most influential apostle of liberal nationalism in the entire century. Other leading philosophers of this movement were Giuseppe Garibaldi in Italy, Victor Hugo in France, and William Ewart Gladstone in England.

A major factor in the extraordinary emergence of nationalism during the 19th century was the first Industrial Revolution. By this is meant in general the amazing series of mechanical inventions ushered in by the invention of the flying shuttle in 1733 by John Kay. In modern states industry and commerce, and eventually society as a whole, were actually transformed by the developments made possible by the work of Thomas Savery, Thomas Newcomen, and James Watt in steam power, Sir Richard Arkwright and Samuel Crompton in textile manufacture, the Abraham Darbys and Henry Cort in coal and iron,

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Sir Henry Bessemer in steel, and other pioneers. The consequences were incalculable. Mass production was introduced, great factory cities created, a working class or proletariat developed. Also, a new middle class was engendered, and the ranks of the capitalist class greatly augmented, from which the "empire builders," the keenest nationalists, emerged. The power of states to produce and to expand increased immeasurably. Demand for outlets for the investment of capital, and the need for raw materials to feed the hungry new factories led to the search for new possessions in distant regions—or gave empire builders the pretext to undertake such a search—and this meant a new wave of colonialism and imperialism. Exploits of adventurers and military geniuses like Robert Clive and Cecil John Rhodes were both a cause and a consequence of a new, intense kind of national pride. Another result was the development of modern methods for the communication of intelligence—through rail, telegraph, telephone, and cheap newspapers.

Major events of the 19th century owe their impulsion to the irresistible forces of nationalism. Greece and Belgium won nationhood early in this period. Nationalistic fervor inspired the great uprisings of 1830 and 1848. Across the Atlantic nationalism inoculated the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America, which were able to win their independence, inspired and led by heroes such as Simon Bolívar and José de San Martín. During the two decades after 1855 both Germany and Italy belatedly won their unity through the genius of Prince Otto von Bismarck and Conte Camillo Benso di Cavour, respectively. Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro won their liberty in 1878. Bulgaria was separated from Turkey. On the other hand, the Poles, Finns, Letts, Czechs, and Croats, among others, continued to be persecuted and oppressed, but this only served to solidify their national loyalty and to push them toward the independence they were later to win and—in some cases—to lose once again. Late in the century Japan, inspired by a high degree of national aspiration, became a world power. Since most of these events occurred through rebellion or war, it is evident that the pacifist slogans of liberal nationalism were often more honored in the breach than in the observance. Furthermore, as has so often been demonstrated, movements initially high-minded and altruistic readily deteriorated into expansionism, aggression, and war.

One may cite as examples Napoleon III and Bismarck, whose policies, originally professing fidelity to the doctrines of liberalism, eventually became reactionary and aggressive. Bismarck's unification of Germany was conservative and authoritarian, but Germany's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 was accomplished in violation of the tenets of self-determination.

Toward the end of the 19th century came a remarkable intensification of nationalism, due in great part to a new industrial revolution. This caused Europe to burst its economic bonds and spread its power and influence throughout the world. New markets were sought in far-off China and Africa. A new wave of expansionism was initiated, as France spread further into Africa, encouraged by Bismarck after the debacle of 1871, and the British obtained control of Suez and embarked on new adventures in colonialism. Germany, too, seeking a "place in the sun,"

sought to extend her sway from Berlin to Bagdad. Even the United States was caught up in the current, and after a successful war with Spain found herself ensconced in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. New rivalries and frictions resulted, with new dangers of war, narrowly averted, as France and England clashed over Fashoda (now Kodok), Germany and France over Morocco, Russia and England over Persia. Grandiose schemes of expansion were dreamed up, mutual fears exacerbated, and a great armaments race launched. Some started new powerful navies, others augmented their existing naval power, compulsory military service was established in many lands, and in general the atmosphere was prepared for that great turning point in history, the explosion at Sarajevo.

The 20th Century.—As already remarked, the 19th century has been called the age of liberal nationalism, although it must be admitted that both at the beginning and at the end of that period, nationalism of an extreme variety was current. But if the 19th can be considered the century of liberal nationalism, certainly the 20th is the period of integral or fascist nationalism. The first decade, it is true, was relatively calm, and great hopes were held out for peace and security by optimists who reflected the spirit of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. But these hopes were shattered in 1914. The nationalist and imperialist rivalries prior to 1914 undoubtedly contributed to the outbreak of World War I. In fact, nationalism was both a cause and a result of that conflict.

Since World War I the most dynamic manifestations of nationalism have occurred in authoritarian states, notably in Nazi Germany, the new Japan, Fascist Italy, and Soviet Russia. Some smaller states, too, have fallen under its sway—Juan Domingo Perón's Argentina, Francisco Franco's Spain, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar's Portugal, and Tito's Yugoslavia. Yet the Treaty of Versailles had been signed in an atmosphere of liberal nationalism. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were an expression of this philosophy, and the peace settlements were inspired in principle by the tenets of national self-determination, as shown by the establishment of the mandates scheme of the League of Nations, the creation of a free Poland, and the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian empire into states based on national integrity. Unfortunately, however, many of the solutions adopted in 1919 ran counter to the Wilsonian ideal, for the American president was unable to obtain acceptance throughout for the formulas contained in his Fourteen Points. In defiance of the explosive verities of self-determination, new grievances were perpetrated. A status quo in which one finds a Fiume (now Rijeka), Shantung, or South Tirol, not to mention the Saar and the Polish Corridor, could hardly be expected to endure. In fact the eventual breakdown of the Versailles settlement, as well as the demise of the League of Nations, can be traced in large part to the injustices perpetrated in 1919 in violation of basic concepts of liberalism and self-determination. For one major cause of international disputes and resulting wars is simply unjust treatment meted out to helpless states, especially if they eventually become powerful enough to threaten the status quo.

Except for a brief period of comparative peace and optimistic hopes, extending roughly from

20 to 1929, the world since World War I has been in almost constant turmoil. One of the major characteristics of the period—both a cause and a result of its cataclysms—has been the manifestation of extreme nationalism. No state has been free from this phenomenon, but in certain authoritarian powers nationalism has reached a pitch of frenzy never before seen, not even in the wildest days of Jacobin fanaticism. Thus Benito Mussolini, a follower of Niccolò Machiavelli, Auguste Maurice Barrès and Georges Sorel (the apostle of violence) rather than of his liberal compatriot, Mazzini, indoctrinated a generation of Italians with the most extreme type of nationalism. Japan, already strongly nationalist, destroyed its democratic trappings in the early 1930's and became more and more rigorously fascist at home and expansionist abroad until it finally broke completely with the family of nations and embarked on total war. In fact, some authorities, contrasting Japan's meticulous compliance with international law during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) with its incredible atrocities in World War II, ascribe this change to the purposeful inculcation among the masses of new doctrines of extreme, fanatical nationalism. The expansion which began in Manchuria finally overran Singapore and New Guinea. Hitler, destroying the democracy of the Weimar Republic, imposed a ruthless dictatorial regime on his people, broke the chains of Versailles, rearmed the nation, and marched into the Rhineland, Vienna, and later Prague. He took the final step when he attacked Poland in 1939. By his violent racial doctrines, his anti-Semitism, his bitter, intolerant, violent demand for absolute fidelity to a mystical and all-powerful Reich, and his control of the German mind through the corruption of press, platform, radio, the schools, and the universities, Adolf Hitler made himself the god of modern integral nationalism. He outdid Robespierre and Napoleon, and surpassed Barrès, Sorel, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

While the actual origins of great wars are difficult to determine, Hitler's aggressive imperialism and fanatical expansionism, seconded by a Mussolini already well schooled in such doctrines and with hands still bloody from his Ethiopian conquest, undoubtedly were major causes of World War II. Characteristic of this spirit is a negation of all humanitarian values, an uncompromising rejection of liberal and progressive principles, a total subjection of the individual to the domination of an all-powerful state, whose worship is postulated as a sacred, almost religious duty, and a devotion to the devastating doctrine that, in the pursuit of the national interest, any means is justified by the end in view. In a world imbued with this spirit, war is almost inevitable, and free nations can only conserve their liberty by constant vigilance and a determination to keep their powder dry.

Since World War II, nationalism has continued to play a major role throughout the world. The Hitlerian techniques were developed still further by Joseph Stalin, who proved himself an apt pupil of fascist nationalism. In Soviet Russia nationalism, stealing the show from the universalist doctrines of world communism, has inspired an expansion as rapid and as extensive as any in the history of the world. Many of the nations liberated after World Wars I and II have been subjugated anew, again as a result of a spirit of nationalism, but this time of a very

different kind. This is true of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and China, although Yugoslavia, again due to the force of nationalism under a stubborn leader, Tito, has thus far escaped. Nor should we forget the fate of the once-free states, liberated as a result of World War I—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Elsewhere, however, the effect of nationalism has been to liberate certain regions from colonial rule. Thus India and Burma have separated from Britain, and Indonesia from the Dutch, while Indochina, Morocco, Tunis, and even Algeria strain at the leash of French sovereignty. In fact the slogan so often heard, "Colonialism is dead," is merely a general recognition of the liberating force of nationalism in the world today.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIONALISM

A brief description of the basic features of nationalism may serve to explain the nature of its dangers to individual states and to world peace.

Relativity.—As already suggested, the exact character of any particular case of nationalism is largely determined by environment. The state of mind of a given people may be entirely transformed according to changes in time and circumstance. Nationalism in the United States itself has shown significant variations explainable by factors of changing environment. Thus, while the Revolution was fought in a spirit of liberal nationalism which Locke and Rousseau would have applauded, the Spanish-American War was initiated in a wave of imperialist emotion. And the retreat from Europe and the League of Nations after 1920 was a clear manifestation of exclusive, isolationist nationalism. In World War I the general sentiment of the masses, even after American intervention in the conflict, remained basically isolationist. This is in sharp contrast with public opinion throughout World War II, at least after Pearl Harbor, for despite a national patriotism that reached a high pitch of intensity, Americans never faltered in their hopes for a new international organization which, it was confidently expected, would serve to ensure peace and security once the victory had been won. It has only been because of the disillusionments of the peace, and particularly since the outbreak of the "Cold War," that American nationalism has tended to become once again to some degree self-centered and isolationist, with some unmistakable signs of exclusiveness and intolerance.

Artificiality.—If nationalism is environmental, it is also to a large extent artificial. It is not a harmonious, natural growth, but the result of a long process which reaches its climax only after a given people has spent a long period of living and working together. This process can be greatly accelerated, however, by various methods, today only too familiar, of purposeful stimulation. In other words, nationalism is a state of mind which can be, and often is, induced by governmental and private propaganda. It can be the creature of ambitious leaders who wish to form certain patterns of opinion which they expect to use, for their own purposes perhaps, or for ends they consider to be in the public interest.

The most volcanic degrees of nationalism have been consciously and insidiously contrived. The fanatical propaganda of the French Revolution, the press-radio-platform paraphernalia of Joseph Paul Goebbels, the "brain washing" technique per-

cular to communism, are striking examples of such methods. In this process, the youth of the nation is singled out as most impressionable and most easily molded. The effort is begun among the youngest children, and includes attempts to enlist the active support of family and school. The Germans under Hitler, and the Russian Communists today, have developed their techniques in this matter to the pitch of perfection. No age-group, no portion of the population, is neglected. The nationalist organizations take the form of clubs, cells, societies, or parties, and all cooperate to augment the fanaticism of the masses to the greater glory of the state. Glorify the nation, exaggerate its accomplishments, convince the masses that they constitute "God's chosen people," spread broadcast the slogan, "My country right or wrong," or, even more lethal, "My country always right," establish a conviction that the fatherland is in imminent danger of attack (whether this be true or false) and, over it all, obliterate all sense of measure, any vestige of objectivity, and one has all the ingredients for concocting a high degree of extreme nationalism. In this matter the most effective formula appears to be a close cooperation of thinker and actor; someone must furnish the doctrine, but someone else must be ready to propagate it among the masses. Lazare Carnot and Bertrand Barère provided the philosophy, Robespierre and Napoleon put it into practice. Alfred Rosenberg wrote the doctrines (acquired abroad from Sorel, Charles Maurras and others, but with valuable assistance at home from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Treitschke), while Goebbels gave these doctrines violent application.

Irrationality.—The ability of governmental and civic leaders to spread the ferment of nationalism among the masses is greatly facilitated by its highly irrational character. The extreme patriot is largely impervious to rational argument. Even in free countries, he may never hear the truth, especially if he reads only tendentious newspapers or tunes in his radio to biased, chauvinistic commentators. Moreover, it is difficult to see how adults can consider the international problems facing their nation with any degree of objectivity if as young children their minds were formed by history books that were one-sided and biased.

Intolerance and Exclusivism.—In early times, man's supreme loyalty was centered on his religion. Today this place has been taken by the nation. As the most despised of antisocial individuals within the state, the traitor has displaced the heretic. This supreme loyalty is not only self-centered and exclusive; it has likewise a curious negative element. It thrives on anti-foreign sentiment, especially when this can be focused on a particular country, the object of special disdain. Thus the nationalism of the United States has been traditionally anti-British, that of England has been anti-French, that of France anti-German, while Polish nationalism (probably the most intense of all) has been anti-Russian and anti-German. A striking contemporaneous illustration of this phenomenon is found, in the case of the USSR, whose integral nationalism is so violently anticapitalist. Given the atmosphere of exclusivism in which it flourishes, together with its negative character, nationalism is both a cause and a consequence of intolerance. Intolerance of all criticism of one's own government or its policies may result in the total suppression of free speech.

Intolerance of foreigners, both as individuals and in the mass, and refusal to examine calmly and objectively the policies of a foreign government, tend to create an attitude favorable to international dispute and war; or it may take the form of arrogance toward the immigrant, an attitude which may go all the way from social discrimination to the passage of laws denying the foreigner comparable economic opportunities in particular or, in general, equal protection of the laws. Nationalistic intolerance finds expression in many countries, in various methods of oppression directed against devotees of religions having an international character, national minorities, members of so-called "inferior races," and persons espousing economic and social doctrines of foreign origin.

INTERNATIONALISM

Various meanings are attached to that elusive term, internationalism. To some it is a method of international cooperation, comprising a complex of instrumentalities of interstate organization—League of Nations, International Labour Organization, the International Court of Justice, World Bank, United Nations—and includes in its purview their origin, evolution and activities. To others the term means, in common with nationalism itself, a certain condition of mind, and it is in this sense that it is used here. Thus interpreted, internationalism means a consciousness of membership in a global society, or community of the peoples of the world, and a willingness to allow one's particular nation to join the existing organizations established by and for this community. It also includes a disposition to surrender to world institutions a greater or less degree of sovereignty, depending on the intensity of one's faith in the available methods of international cooperation. The "minimalist" would be willing to grant to a global institution only those powers considered essential for the maintenance and enforcement of international security. The "maximalist" is a partisan of some form of actual world government. The former champions the present United Nations; the latter will be found in the ranks of the world federalists. Between the two extremes one will find varying degrees of internationalism. This attitude or state of mind is unlike cosmopolitanism in that it does not imply an abandonment of one's loyalty to his particular state or nation, or a disposition to substitute for his attachment to the latter a higher relationship to the whole world, regarded as the only true fatherland.

It was only following World War I that internationalism as just defined reached the stage of practical experimentation. True, the way had been prepared for centuries, as advanced thinkers—Henry IV's great minister, the duc de Sully, Immanuel Kant, William Penn, and many others—formulated utopian plans for world organization designed to end war and maintain peace. But little came of these plans until 1919. Considerable progress had already been made, to be sure, in the field of international law, especially since 1648, and international arbitration had come into fairly frequent use during the 19th century. Two Hague Conferences, in 1899 and 1907 respectively, had spread the hope—too optimistic, so it turned out—for the codification of international law and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. But the actual birth of internationalism did not occur until the founding of the League

84

Nationalism

Nationalism may be defined as a state of mind in which the individual feels that everyone owes his supreme secular loyalty to the nation-state. Nationalism is a modern movement. Throughout history men have been attached to their native soil, to the traditions of their parents, and to established territorial authorities; but it was not until the end of the 18th century that nationalism began to be a generally recognized sentiment molding public and private life and one of the great, if not the greatest, single determining factors of modern history. Because of its dynamic vitality and its all-pervading character, nationalism is often thought to be very old; sometimes it is mistakenly regarded as a permanent factor in political behaviour. Actually, the American and French revolutions may be regarded as its first powerful manifestations. After penetrating the new countries of Latin America, it spread in the early 19th century to central Europe and from there, toward the middle of the century, to eastern and southeastern Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century, nationalism flowered in the ancient lands of Asia and Africa. Thus the 19th century has been called the age of nationalism in Europe, while the 20th century has witnessed the rise and struggle of powerful national movements throughout Asia and Africa.

Nationalism, translated into world politics, implies the identification of the state or nation with the people—or at least the desirability of determining the extent of the state according to ethnographic principles. In the age of nationalism, but only in the age of nationalism, the principle was generally recognized that each nationality should form a state—its state—and that the state should include all members of that nationality. Formerly states, or territories under one administration, were not delineated by nationality. Men did not give their loyalty to the nation-state, but to other, different forms of political organization: the city-state, the feudal fief and its lord, the dynastic state, the religious group, or the sect. The nation-state was nonexistent during the greater part of history, and for a very long time it was not even regarded as an ideal. In the first 15 centuries of the Christian Era, the ideal was the universal world-state, not loyalty to any separate political entity. The Roman Empire had set the great example, which survived not only in the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages, but also in the concept of the *res publica christiana* ("Christian republic" or community) and in its later secularized form of a united world civilization and in world policy as it appeared in the writings of the 17th century.

As political allegiance, before the age of nationalism, was not determined by nationality, so civilization was not thought of as nationally determined. During the Middle Ages, civilization was looked upon as determined religiously; for all the different nationalities of Christendom as well as for those of Islam there was but one civilization—Christian or Muslim—and but one language of culture—Latin (or Greek) or Arabic (or Persian). Later, in the periods of the Renaissance and of Classicism, it was the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations that became a universal norm, valid for all peoples and all times. Still later, French civilization was accepted throughout Europe as the valid civilization for educated people of all nationalities. It was only at the end of the 18th century that, for the first time, civilization was considered to be determined by nationality. It was then that the principle was put forward that a man could be educated only in his own mother tongue, not in languages of other civilizations and other times, whether they were classical languages or the literary creations of other peoples who had reached a high degree of civilization.

From the end of the 18th century on, the nationalization of education and public life went hand in hand with the nationalization of states and political loyalties. Poets and scholars began to emphasize cultural nationalism first. They reformed the mother tongue, elevated it to the rank of a literary language, and delved deep into the national past. Thus they prepared the foundations for the political claims for national statehood soon to be raised by the people in whom they had kindled the spirit.

Before the 18th century there had been evidences of national feeling among certain groups at certain periods, especially in times of stress and conflict. The rise of national feeling to major political importance was encouraged by a number of complex developments: the creation of large, centralized states ruled by absolute monarchs who destroyed the old feudal allegiances; the secularization of life and of education, which fostered the vernacular languages and weakened the ties of church and sect; the growth of commerce, which demanded larger territorial units to allow scope for the dynamic spirit of the rising middle classes and their capitalistic enterprise. This large, 18th-century, unified territorial state with its political and economic centralization became imbued with a new spirit—an emotional fervour similar to that of religious movements in earlier periods. Under the influence of the new theories of the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man, the people replaced the king as the centre of the nation. No longer was the king the nation or the state; the state had become the people's state, a national state, a fatherland. State became identified with nation, as civilization became identified with national civilization.

That development ran counter to the conceptions that had dominated political thought for the preceding 2,000 years. Hitherto man had commonly stressed the general and the universal and had regarded unity as the desirable goal. Nationalism stressed the particular and parochial, the differences, and the national individualities. Those tendencies became more pronounced as nationalism developed. Its less attractive characteristics were not at first apparent. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the common standards of Western civilization, the regard for the universally human, the faith in reason (one and the same everywhere) as well as in common sense, the survival of Christian and Stoic traditions—all of these were still too strong to allow nationalism to develop fully and to disrupt society. Thus nationalism in its beginning was thought to be compatible with cosmopolitan convictions and with a general love of mankind, especially in western Europe and North America.

EUROPEAN NATIONALISM

The first full manifestation of modern nationalism occurred in 17th-century England, in the Puritan revolution. England had become the leading nation in scientific spirit, in commercial enterprise, in political thought and activity. Swelled by an immense confidence in the new age, the English people felt upon their shoulders the mission of history, a sense that they were at a great turning point from which a new true reformation and a new liberty would start. In the English revolution an optimistic humanism merged with Calvinist ethics; the influence of the Old Testament gave form to the new nationalism by identifying the English people with ancient Israel.

The new message, carried by the new people not only for England but for all mankind, was expressed in the writings of John Milton in whose famous vision the idea of liberty was seen spreading from Britain, "celebrated for endless ages as a soil most genial to the growth of liberty" to all the corners of the earth.

Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that . . . I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost; and that the people of this island are . . . disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms and nations.

English nationalism then was thus much nearer to its religious matrix than later nationalisms that rose after secularization had made greater progress. The nationalism of the 18th century shared with it, however, its enthusiasm for liberty, its humanitarian character, its emphasis upon the individual and his rights and upon the human community as above all national divisions. The rise of English nationalism coincided with the rise of the English trading middle classes. It found its final expression in John Locke's political philosophy, and it was in that form that it influenced American and French nationalism in the following century.

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century. British settlers in North America were influenced partly by the traditions of the Puritan revolution and the ideas of Locke and partly by the new rational interpretation given to English liberty by contemporary French philosophers. American settlers became a nation engaged in a fight for liberty and individual rights. They based that fight on current political thought, especially as expressed by Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. It was a liberal and humanitarian nationalism that regarded America as in the vanguard of mankind on its march to greater liberty, equality, and happiness for all. The ideas of the 18th century found their first political realization in the Declaration of Independence and in the birth of the American nation. Their deep influence was felt in the French Revolution.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau had prepared the soil for the growth of French nationalism by his stress on popular sovereignty and the general cooperation of all in forming the national will, and also by his regard for the common people as the true depository of civilization.

The nationalism of the French Revolution was more than that: it was the triumphant expression of a rational faith in common humanity and liberal progress. The famous slogan "liberty, equality, fraternity" and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen were thought valid not only for the French people but for all peoples. Individual liberty, human equality, fraternity of all peoples: these were the common cornerstones of all liberal and democratic nationalism. Under their inspiration new rituals were developed that partly took the place of the old religious feast days, rites and ceremonies: festivals and flags, music and poetry, national holidays and patriotic sermons. In the most varied forms, nationalism permeated all manifestations of life. Like the rise of American nationalism, the rise of the French produced a new phenomenon in the art of warfare: the nation in arms. In America and in France, citizen armies, untrained but filled with a new fervour, proved superior to highly trained professional armies that fought without the incentive of nationalism. The revolutionary French nationalism stressed free individual decision—in the formation of nations. Nations were constituted by an act of self-determination of their members. The plebiscite became the instrument whereby the will of the nation was expressed. In America as well as in revolutionary France, nationalism meant the adherence to a universal progressive idea, looking toward a common future of freedom and equality, not toward a past characterized by authoritarianism and inequality.

Napoleon's armies spread the spirit of nationalism throughout Europe and even into the Near East; while at the same time, across the Atlantic, it aroused the Latin Americans. But Napoleon's yoke of conquest turned the nationalism of the Europeans against France. In Germany the struggle was led by writers and intellectuals, who rejected all the principles upon which the American and the French revolutions had been based as well as the liberal and humanitarian aspects of nationalism.

German nationalism began to stress instinct against reason; the power of historical tradition against rational attempts at progress and a more just order; the historical differences between nations rather than their common aspirations. The French Revolution, liberalism, and equality were regarded as a brief aberration, against which the eternal foundations of societal order would prevail.

That German interpretation was shown to be false by the developments of the 19th century. Liberal nationalism reasserted itself; it permeated more and more peoples: the rising middle class and the new proletariat. The revolutionary wave of 1848, the year of "the spring of the peoples," seemed to realize the hopes of nationalists such as Giuseppe Mazzini, who had devoted his life to the unification of the Italian nation by democratic means and to the brotherhood of all free nations. Though his efforts were disappointed for 12 years from 1853 to 1861 brought the unification of Italy and Romania with the help of Napoleon III, and of Germany; at the same time the 1860s saw great progress in liberalism, even in Russia and Spain. The victorious trend of liberal

nationalism, however, was reversed in Germany by Bismarck. He unified Germany on a conservative and authoritarian basis and defeated German liberalism. The German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine against the will of the inhabitants was contrary to the idea of nationalism as based upon the free will of man. The people of Alsace-Lorraine were held to be German by objective factors, by race, independent of their will or of their allegiance to any nationality of their choice.

In the second half of the 19th century, nationalism disintegrated the supranational states of the Habsburgs and the Ottoman sultans, both of which were based upon prenational loyalties. In Russia, the penetration of nationalism produced two opposing schools of thought. Some nationalists proposed a westernized Russia, associated with the progressive, liberal forces of the rest of Europe. Others stressed the distinctive character of Russia and Russianism, its independent and different destiny based upon its autocratic and orthodox past. These Slavophiles, similar to and influenced by German romantic thinkers, saw Russia as a future saviour of a West undermined by liberalism and the heritage of the American and French revolutions.

One of the consequences of World War I was the triumph of nationalism in central and eastern Europe. From the ruins of the Habsburg and Romanov empires, emerged the new nation-states of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania. Those states in turn, however, were to be strained and ravaged by their own internal nationality conflicts and by nationalistic disputes over territory with their neighbours.

Russian nationalism was in part suppressed after Lenin's victory in 1917, when the Bolsheviks took over the old empire of the Tsars. But the Bolsheviks also claimed the leadership of the world Communist movement, which was to become an instrument of the national policies of the Russians. During World War II Stalin appealed to nationalism and patriotism in rallying the Russians against foreign invaders. After the war he found nationalism one of the strongest obstacles to the expansion of Soviet power in eastern Europe. National communism, as it was called, became a divisive force in the Soviet bloc. In 1948 Tito, the Communist leader of Yugoslavia, was denounced by Moscow as a nationalist and a renegade; nationalism was a strong factor in the rebellious movements in Poland and Hungary in the fall of 1956; and subsequently its influence was also felt in Romania and Czechoslovakia.

ASIAN AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Nationalism began to appear in Asia and Africa after World War I. It produced such leaders as Kemal Ataturk in Turkey, Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul in Egypt, Ibn Sa'ud in the Arabian peninsula, Mahatma Gandhi in India, and Sun Yat-sen in China. Ataturk succeeded in replacing the medieval structure of the Islamic monarchy with a revitalized and modernized secular republic in 1923. Demands for Arab unity were frustrated in Africa and Asia by British imperialism and in Africa by French imperialism. Yet Britain may have showed a gift for accommodation with the new forces by helping to create an independent Egypt (1922; completely, 1936) and Iraq (1932), and displayed a similar spirit in India, where the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885 to promote a liberal nationalism inspired by the British model, became more radical after 1918. Japan, influenced by Germany, used modern industrial techniques in the service of a more authoritarian nationalism.

The progress of nationalism in Asia and Africa is reflected in the histories of the League of Nations after World War I and of the United Nations after World War II. The Treaty of Versailles, which provided for the constitution of the League of Nations, also reduced the empires of the defeated Central Powers, mainly Germany and Turkey. The League distributed Germany's African colonies in mainland to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and South Africa, and in Pacific possessions to Japan, Australia and New Zealand under various classifications according to their expectations of achieving independence. Among the League's original members, there were only five Asian countries (China, India, Japan, Thailand,

and Iran) and two African countries (Liberia and the Union of South Africa), and it added only three Asian countries (Afghanistan, Iraq, and Turkey) and two African countries (Egypt and Ethiopia) before it was dissolved in 1946. Of the mandated territories under the League's control, only Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria achieved independence during its lifetime.

Of the original 51 members of the United Nations in 1945, eight were Asian (China, India, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey) and four were African (the same as in the League). But less than a quarter of a century after its founding, the United Nations had added 66 member nations, 55 of them Asian and African. Whereas Asian and African nations had never totaled one-third of the membership in the League, they came to represent nearly half of the United Nations. Of these new Asian and African nations, four in Asia and seven in Africa were in part or in whole created from mandated territories.

After World War II, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and Malaya in Asia, and Ghana in Africa achieved independence peacefully from the British Commonwealth, as did the Philippines from the United States. Others had to fight hard for their independence in bitter colonial wars, as in French Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) and French North Africa (Tunisia, Algeria). Communism had sought to recruit supporters from within the ranks of the new nationalist movements in Asia and Africa, first, by helping them in their struggle against Western capitalist powers, and later after independence was achieved, by competing with Western capitalism in extending financial and technical aid. Chinese nationalism under Chiang Kai-shek during World War II was diminished with the take over of the Chinese Communists. But Chinese communism soon began to drift away from supranational communism, as the European Communist countries had earlier. By the late 1960s, Russian and Chinese mutual recriminations revealed a Chinese nationalism in which Mao Tse-tung had risen to share the place of honour with Lenin. As Chinese communism turned further and further inward, its influence on newborn Asian and African nations apparently waned.

Ambitions among new Asian and African nations clashed. The complex politics of the United Nations illustrated the problems of the new nationalism. The struggle with Dutch colonialism that brought the establishment of Indonesia continued with the UN mediating the dispute over West Irian (West New Guinea) well into the late 1960s. In the Suez crisis of 1956, UN forces intervened between those of Egypt and Israel. Continuing troubles in the Middle East beginning with the establishment of Israel and including inter-Arab state disputes brought on by the establishment of the United Arab Republic, concerned the UN. Other crises involving the UN included: the India-Pakistan dispute over Jammu and Kashmir; the Korean partition and subsequent war; the four-year intervention in the Congo; the struggle of Greece and Turkey over newly independent Cyprus; Indonesian and Philippine objection to the inclusion of Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo) in the newly formed Malaysia.

Many new nations, all sharing the same pride in independence, faced difficulties. As a result of inadequate preparation for self-rule, the first five years of independence in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo passed with no semblance of a stable government. The problem of varying peoples and languages was exemplified in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, where an uncounted population including an uncounted number of tribes (at least 150, with three major divisions) used an uncounted number of languages that included at least a hundred language and dialect clusters. Religious differences kept alive the question of whether the predominantly Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir should go with Muslim Pakistan or Hindu India for more than 20 years after the India Independence Act became effective in 1949. Desperate economic competition caused trouble, as in Israel where the needed life-giving water of the Jordan River kept it in constant dispute with its water hungry Arab neighbours.

In Europe the spirit of nationalism seemed to have

waned after World War II with the establishment of international economic, military and political organizations such as NATO, the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, the Common Market, and others. But the policies pursued by France under Pres. Charles de Gaulle, and the problem of a divided Germany, showed that the appeal of the nation-state was still very much alive.

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(H.K./Ed.)

Native Elements

Excluding the free gases of the atmosphere, there are 20 elements that occur in nature in pure or nearly pure form; these are called the native elements. Of the 20 native elements, only eight have historic or major commercial significance. The remaining elements are not abundant, and a few are considered to be mineralogical curiosities.

Although most elements in native form are rare, from ancient times several have been known, used, and cherished by man. It is generally agreed that the first metals known to man were those found in the native state. The earliest of these probably were nuggets of gold from alluvial sand and gravel deposits. Too soft for tools or weapons, this gold was used in jewelry or other decorative objects; native silver was probably used in the same way. Native copper, though soft, hardens when it is hammered and could have been used for sickles and daggers capable of cutting corn or flesh. Iron and nickel-iron, although less widely distributed, were known and were fashioned into implements by early man. The nonmetals, carbon (both as graphite and diamond) and sulfur also have been known throughout historic time.

Native gold and silver are important commercially as principal ores of these metals. Native copper is used as an ore but is not of great commercial importance. Native iron and nickel-iron are relatively rare and are of no commercial importance. Platinum in the native state, on the other hand, is practically the exclusive source of this precious metal. Platinum was unknown to the ancients, and man's first knowledge of it dates from its discovery in 1735, in the form of nuggets found in a Colombia stream bed. Early in the 20th century graphite was synthesized, but the natural product remains an important source of the substance. Diamonds have been man-made, but synthetic stones are small and are used only for industrial purposes. Not until the mid-20th century have other sources of sulfur challenged the dominant position of that native element as a basic raw material of the chemical industry.

CLASSIFICATION AND PROPERTIES

Native elements are classified as metals, semimetals, or nonmetals. In the mineralogical classification below, naturally occurring solid solutions or compounds of two or more metals are included with the metals.

Metals. The native metals of mineralogical significance are in the gold group, the platinum group, and the iron group; the others are of only minor importance.

The gold group comprises three important metals; namely, gold, silver, and copper. These elements fall in the same family in the periodic classification (classification by atomic weight and number) of elements and, hence, have somewhat similar crystallographic, chemical, and physi-

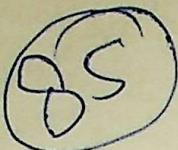
Gold,
silver, and
copper

THE EMERGENCE OF THE LIBERTY AND RIGHTS MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PARTIES POLITICS IN THE STATE.

The concept of movement within a Political and Social context is said to have been emerged from the experience of the French Revolution of 1789 and from the continuing struggle against the established authority in different countries in Europe. It is an organised attempt on the part of a section of a society to bring about either partial or total change in it through collective mobilization based on ideology. Whenever a movement develops a high degree of formal organisation, it ceases to be a movement and becomes a part of the internationalised system losing its innovative features.

For over the last several centuries, the organisation and conduct of political have been complicated by the development of political parties and specific institutions for legislation, administration and adjudication. In earlier days government was simple because the society was simple as it had static social structures, agrarian economy and largely self-sufficient community of citizens. When the society of today has become highly urbanized, economy is geared up for industrial production and many citizens turn to government for the services, big governments are organised. As a result the opportunities for political conflict have increased along with the economic development and created new values, attitudes, interests and proliferation of ideologies reflects these fundamental changes in our way of life and in the organisation of society and government.

However, of all the political ideas that have gone into shaping our modern World none has gained wider usage or wielded greater influences than the Left- Right concept. of political relationship. In fact this concept visualises our political World as a spectrum stretching between two polar extremes The extremes left denoting revolutionary radicalism and extreme right devoting revolutionary reactionism. The various political schools of thought are, therefore, ranged between the colours of spectrum according to the intensity of their tendencies.



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APPENDIX 520

STATEMENT OF C. RAJESWARA RAO, GENERAL SECRETARY

OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA BEFORE THE PRESS
REPRESENTATIVES AT SRINAGAR ON 12TH OCTOBER, 1967.

I and Mr. Avtar Singh Malhotra came to Kashmir to understand the serious situation that has developed with the recent incidents. We have also witnessed some of the latest incidents. We met available leaders of different political parties. We talked to some ordinary people. We also went to some villages where communist party units are working. We talked with our party members and ordinary peasants.

We have only to say that we felt sad at the poisonous atmosphere that has been created. The two communities - muslims and hindus of Kashmir - who are in all respects one (in language dress and culture) and who have been living like brothers are now estranged. Even now the villages the atmosphere is not yet spoiled. We found hindu pandita living in peace and harmony with muslim peasants. Even now if those leaders of Kashmir who profess secularism and democracy put their heads together leaving petty doubts and considerations communal harmony can be restored and proper atmosphere can be created for finding a amicable solution for the Kashmir issue. The

least that should be done by the leaders coming from other parts of our country is not to say or do anything that will add to the difficulties of the Kashmiri people and spoil the atmosphere further, if they cannot help to improve it.

In this connection we unequivocally condemn the inflammatory utterances of Mr. Balraj Madhok, President of the Bhartiya Jan Sangh, which have only resulted in fanning the flames of communalism. His disruptive and irresponsible statements creating illusions among the hindus of Kashmir that their safety lies not in friendly relations with their muslim brothers but with hindus in rest of the country who are supposed to help them in puttin down the muslims here; asking muslims to go to Pakistan; are most responsible to say the least. His statements slandering Kashmiri leaders who were responsible for accession of a muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir to India, by saying that it were not they who were responsible for accession but the ex-Maharaja. In fact the Maharaja first toyed with the idea of an independent status for the state just like so many others of his tribe under the inspiration of the British Imperialists who divided our great motherland and who finally ran away with army at the first news of raiders

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522

entering the state in 1987. Is the man when Mr. Madhok says is responsible for accession of the State to India. Mr. Madhok's statement is nothing but willful destruction of glorious history of the people of Kashmir. Mr. Balraj Madhok by his mischievous and poisonous statements has neither helped the Kashmiri pandits nor our great motherland and its secular democracy. It has only helped the leaders of Pakistan who are attempting to show up our country as another communal replica of Pakistan and the Anglo-American imperialists who want to divide into many more bits and establish their complete domination over it.

I not only condemn his statements but emphatically reject his claim to represent forty crores of Hindus of this country. The two communist parties, SSP, PSP, Banla Congress Jan Krantidal, Jan Congress, D.M.K. and so many other left and Democratic parties and vast sections of congress represent not only vast sections of muslims, sikhs and christians minorities but also overwhelming majority of hindu masses as is proved in the last general elections. The secular and democratic forces of India are quite strong to defeat the manouvers of communal reaction that has raised its ugly head in Ranchi, Kashmir and other places. It goes without saying that these reactionary forces are aided by imperialists. If the

secular and democratic forces get united our great country can be saved from disruption.

The people of Jammu and Kashmir and its leaders have played a great part in preserving the secular democratic set-up of our country, by the accession of a muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir; by fighting three successive invasions of Pakistan successfully and by making serious efforts to maintain communal harmony in the State. We only request them now to look beyond the Banihal pass, see the changed political situation in the entire country as a result of the Fourth General Elections, have confidence in the strength of the secular and democratic forces in the country as a whole and march shoulder to shoulder with them in defeating the game of communal reaction and the imperialists.

We appeal to the people of Kashmir to uphold the secular democratic and the great traditions of Kashmir and not fall a prey to communal reaction. The issue of inter-communal marriages should not be allowed to disturb the communal amity of Kashmir, because that has not been an uncommon practice here-hindu girls married muslim boys and muslim girls marrying hindu and sikh boys, which is a good example before the country as a whole.

We demand the immediate release of Sheikh

Abdullah, removal of restrictions on Mirza Afzal Beg, the leaders of Kashmir and such other measures to be taken by central and the state governments for the creation of a proper atmosphere for the amicable solution of the Kashmir issue. Though it is quite a complicated problem, it is not beyond solution if proper efforts are made. A way can be found which can satisfy all the democratic and secular forces where in Kashmir and its people can play their due role in the secular democratic set-up of the our great motherland with its diversity where people profess all the great faiths of the world and speak various languages live in large numbers. While enjoying the fullest autonomy and democracy for developing this beautiful state of Jammu and Kashmir."

सप्तम

आल इन्डिया लोकल बॉटीज़ कान्फेस

के
स्वागताभ्यु
डा० यद्धवीरसिंह प्रधान, दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमेटी
का
स्वागत भाषण

भारत सरकार के
सेही आप

प्रतिनिधि भाइयो,

आज इस सर्वी के मौसिम में पंजाब से आसाम तक और उत्तर प्रदेश से दूर दक्षिण तक के प्रतिनिधियों से इस पंडाल के भगा हथा देख कर मेरा और स्वागतकारिणी के समस्त सदस्यों का हृदय गदगद हो रहा है, बास्तव में उस हर्ष को प्रकट करने लिए जो आज हमें हो रहा है और आपको धन्यवाद देने के लिए मुझे उचित शब्द नहीं मिल रहे हैं।

यह कान्फेस बुलाने की बात हमने कोई डेढ़ वर्ष पूर्व, जुलाई १९४६ में सोची थी। इसका समाचार, पत्रों में छपने पर मेरे पास उत्साहजनक पत्र आये। उस ही समय जब मेरी श्रद्धेय श्री सिधवा से भेंट हुई तो उन्होंने बताया कि बम्बई में ऐसी एक कान्फेस करने की योजना हो रही है। हमने इसलिए यहां कान्फेस बुलाने का स्थाल छोड़ दिया और बम्बई में ही शार्मिल होमे का निश्चय कर लिया। फिर सिधवा साहब विदेश चले गये और जब वे लौटे तो पता चला कि बम्बई में वह कान्फेस नहीं हो सकी है, तो हमने फिर इस कान्फेस की योजना की जिसको आज आप स्वतंत्र-भारत के हर प्रांत से इतनी बड़ी संख्या में आवर सशोभित कर रहे हैं।

इस प्रभार की ६ कान्फेसें पहले हो चुकी हैं, मगर वह गुलामी का जमाना था, स्वतंत्र भारत की यह पहली कान्फेस है। पिछली कान्फेसों में अधिक से अधिक ३०० डैलिगेट आये थे। हमने सोचा था कि इस बार ३०० से अवश्य अधिक प्रतिनिधि पधारेंगे और कम से कम दुगनी संख्या अवश्य होगी। इस ही दृष्टि से तमाम इन्तजामात कर लिए गये थे। जब साप्त ए हमें मालूम हुआ कि ८०० डैलिगेटों की स्वीकृत आ चुकी है तो हमने जल्दी २ अपने प्रबन्धों को बदला, मगर बीच में इत्तला दी कि तादाद रोक बढ़ रही है और १००० से कम पहुंच चुकी है। हम जरा परेशान हुए और हाथ-पांव मार ही मालूम हुआ कि १०० डैलिगेटों की स्वीकृत आ चुकी है। श्री सिधवा न्युज़ीलैंड पधारे हुए थे। स्वागतकारिणी की जाति मीटिंग बुलाई गई और सोचा गया कि क्या इन्तजाम किये जायें। बम्बई लोकल सैलफ गवर्नर्मेंट इनस्टीट्रूट के द्वारा बाला सौभाग्य से जन दिनों यहां उपस्थित थे, वे हमारी मीटिंग में भी पधारे। उन्होंने हमने डैलिगेटों के ठहरने के दोनों इन्तजाम व स्थान बदल दिये या कहये कि बदलने पड़े। ऐसी दशा में हमार पूर्ण प्रयत्न करने पर प्रतिष्ठित महमानों के लिए हम जैसा चाहते थे वैसा प्रबन्ध, समयाभाव के कारण सम्भव है न हुआ हो। मुझे पूर्ण कान्फेस का प्रतिनिधिगण हमारी कर्तनाइयों को ध्यान में रखते हुए हमारी कमियों पर ध्यान न देंगे और जो कुछ कष्ट उन्हें होगा उसके लिए भावना, श्रद्धा, व प्रेम को देखते हुए ज्ञान करेंगे।

माननीय अतिथियो !

इस ज्ञान-याचना के बाद मुझे इस प्राचीन राजधानी में आपका स्वागत करते हुए अपूर्व गौरव और अभिमान का दृष्टि हो रहा है, मैं स्वागतकारिणी का और अपना यह परम सौभाग्य समझता हूँ एसे २ माननीय अतिथियों का स्वागत और सेवा करने का हमें शुभ अवधार प्राप्त हुआ है।

यूंता दिल्ली नगर का इतिहास बड़ा पुराना है। महाभारत के काल से इसका सम्बन्ध है और यह हिन्दू सम्राटों, पठानों मुगलों और अंग्रेजों की राजधानी रहा है, लेकिन यह वर्तमान दिल्ली जिसमें आप बैठे हैं आज से पूरे ३०० वर्ष पूर्व मन् १६५० के परम पुजारी सम्राट शाहजहां ने आवाद की थी और लालकिला व जामा-मस्जिद जैसी शानदार इमारतें बनवाई थीं ने अपने ३०० वर्ष के छोटे से काल में ही बड़े उतार चढ़ाव देखे हैं। मुगल साम्राज्य का उत्थान और पतन यहां हुआ ऐतिहासिक घटनायें इस सम्बन्ध में यहीं घटीं। लेकिन सब से गौरवपूर्ण इतिहास इसका १८५७ से शुरू होता है। स्वतन्त्रता के सबसे पहले संग्राम की रंगभूमि बना और यद्यपि संग्राम सफल न हुआ पर बलिदानों की अपूर्व घटन में थीं। अत्याचार की पराकाष्ठा हुई। दिल्ली के नौजवानों की गर्दनें काट कर चांदनी चौक के पेड़ों पर टांगी गड़ और खुला कत्ल हुआ। सन् १३ में इस नगर में बड़े लाट पर बस पड़ने के फलस्वरूप कौम के परवानों और आजादी के दीवानों को यहां कांसियां ल सन् १६ में म० गांधी के रोलट एक्ट आन्दोलन में इस नगर के बच्चों तक ने मशीनगनों से खेलते हुए अपनी जानें दीं। सन् २०००, ३० और ४२ में जो कुर्बानियां इस नगर के रहने वालों ने स्वतन्त्रता की बलिवेदी पर की हैं, उन्होंने जहां देश को स्वतन्त्रता प्रदान किया है इस नगर व इसके रहने वालों का माथा अभिमान से ऊँचा कर दिया है। इहीं बलिदानों के फलस्वरूप आज दिल्ली को एक सम्पूर्ण प्रभुत्व सम्पन्न लोकतंत्रात्मक गणराज्य की राजधानी होने का गौरव प्राप्त है, जैसे एकछत्र राज्य का उल्लेख भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास में कहीं नहीं मिलता।

इस नगर में बैठ कर आज स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद पहली दफा आपको अपने स्थानिक शासन और उसने संबंधित समस्याओं पर विवार और निर्णय करने हैं। स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद स्थानिक शासन संस्थाओं की जिम्मेदारियां बहुत बढ़ पहले ये संस्थाएँ केवल विदेशी शासकों के चाकुकारों की संस्थाएँ थीं और इनका विधान ऐसा बना हुआ था जिससे किसी बात न कर सकें जो उनके हितों के विरुद्ध हों। वह विधान उन हालतों और स्वार्थों के सर्वथा अनुकूल था। अब जब कि प्राप्ति को ४ वर्ष हो गये हैं और भारत का नया विधान बन चुका है तो आपको आज सोचना है कि आपका विधान वर्ष

रहे जिसमें सारे अधिकार स्थानिक डिप्टी कमिश्नर, कलेक्टरों, कमिश्नरों आदि अधिकारियों के हाथ में रहते थे या उसमें आमूल परिवर्तन हो और वह सच्चे मायने में स्थानिक शासन के अनुरूप हो। नेकनीयती से एक हद तक गलती करने तक की छूट इन संस्थाओं को मिलनी चाहिए तभी यह स्वतंत्र और जिम्मेदार बन सकती है। यदि स्थानिक शासन को जिम्मेदार बनाना है तो इनके विवान में वैसे हो कानून कारी परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है जैसा कि भारत के विधान में हुआ है।

कार्पोरेशन से लेकर छोटी बड़ी म्युनिसिपल कमेटियों, जिला बोर्डों एवं प्राम पंचायतों तक के कारोबार, आर्थिक समस्याओं, उनके आपाव के संबंधों आदि पर आप अवश्य विचार करेंगे। आज देश के विभाजन के कारण मकानों की समस्या ने विकट रूप धारण कर लिया है। बड़े नगरों में खास तौर से रहने को स्थान नहीं मिलते और जहां लोग रह भी रहे हैं तो वहां १० की जगह ५० आवाद हैं। विनीत सम्मिलियों में आपके उचित ध्यान का हकदार है।

वर्षों का प्रश्न भी एह विकट प्रश्न है। हर नगर व कस्ते में आज आपको हजारों घेवर मोहताज भीख मांगने वाले नजर आ रहे हैं। इनका समस्या का हल करना आज हमारे लिए अत्यन्त जरूरी है। इनके रहन-सहन कारोबार की ओर भी हमें ध्यान करना

स्थानिक संस्थाओं के मोटे-मोटे मुख्य काम हैं:—स्वास्थ्य, सफाई, प्राथमिक शिक्षा, सड़कें, रोशनी, पानी, शुद्धखाने पीने की की व्यवस्था, स्थानिक यातायात आदि। मेरी धारणा है कि देश निवासियों की शारीरिक, आत्मिक और सामाजिक के जिए सब साधन जुटाना, वायु-मरण उत्पन्न करना और निश्चित उपाय काम में लाना स्वतंत्र भारत की हर संस्था का आज कर्तव्य हो गया है। और इस ही लिए (Adult Education) प्रौढ़ शिक्षा या सामाजिक शिक्षा (Education), शारीरिक शिक्षा (Physical Education), और नागरिक शिक्षा (Civic Education) की सारी म्युनिसिपल कमेटियों व बोर्डों पर आन पड़ती है। आज हमें यही विचारना है कि इन सब कामों को हम किस क से अधिक सफलतापूर्वक कर सकते हैं। सेवा की पवित्र भावना से ओतप्रोत होकर ही हम इन कर्तव्यों का पालन कर सकते हैं। हम मिलजुल कर यदि ईमानदारी से सेवा का ब्रत प्रहण करें तो आप मुझ से सहमत निक संस्थाओं में सब से अधिक सेवा का चेत्र आपको मिलेगा, पार्लमेंटों या कौंसिलों में जाकर, वहां आप कानून बनावेंगे। कार अपनी योग्यता का लाभ देश को पहुँचा सकेंगे, लेकिन जन-साधारण की व्यक्तिगत सेवा का जो चेत्र यहां है वह

इन लिए हमें अपनी सेवा की योग्यता बढ़ाने के लिए निस्वार्थ भाव से सेवा का ब्रत लेना आवश्यक है। पूज्य राष्ट्रपिता ने एक सेपल कमेटी के मानपत्र के जवाब में कहा था:—

"It is a rare privilege for a person to find himself in the position of a Municipal Councillor, note down for you as man of some experience in public life that one indispensable that privilege is that Municipal Councillors dare not approach their office from interested motives. They must approach their sacred task in a spirit of service."

"किसी भी व्यक्ति के लिए म्युनिसिपल कमेटी के सदस्य का पद प्राप्त करना एक अपूर्व सौभाग्य एवं विशेष अधिकार है, लेकिन जीवन में कुछ अनुभव रखने वाले एक व्यक्ति के नाते मैं आप लोगों को बता देना चाहता हूँ कि इस सौभाग्य एवं वर की एक अनिवार्य शर्त यह है कि म्युनिसिपल कौंसिलरों को इस पद का प्रयोग अपने किसी मतलब अथवा स्वार्थ के निमित्त भृष्टता कदापि न करनी चाहिए। उन्हें अपना यह पवित्र कर्तव्य सेवा की भावना अथवा खिदमत के ख्याल से ही पूरा चाहिए।"

साधियो,

राष्ट्रपिता का यह आदेश हममें से हर एक को जो इन स्थानिक शासन संस्थाओं के सभासद हैं या होना चाहते हैं अपने बाल पर अच्छी तरह अंकित कर लेना चाहिए। सेवा व निस्वार्थ सेवा ही हमारा ध्येय और लक्ष्य होना चाहिए। जिन हृदयों में भावना न हो उन्हें इन संस्थाओं का सदस्य केवल अधिकार, मान या प्रतिष्ठा के लिए बनने की भृष्टता न करनी चाहिए। इस नीकार करने में मुझे कोई संकोच नहीं है कि अब तक बहुत से सदस्य भिन्न २१वारों, भावनाओं और स्वार्थों को ले कर ही वारों में आया करते थे। म्युनिसिपल कमेटियां सरकारी अफसरों तक पहुँचने तक की सीढ़ी और जितावादि प्राप्त करने का जरिया होता है। लेकिन अब जमाना बदल चुका है। हमें राष्ट्रपिता के आदेश का अन्तरशः पालन करना ही होगा।

स्थान पर मुझे एक गहरी आशङ्का होती है और मैं स्वयं उलझन में पड़ जाता हूँ, वह है चुनाव की समस्या। अब तक म्युनिसिपल कमेटियों के चुनावों में हजारों रूपया व्यय होता था, ऐसे सौभाग्यशाली वर्म होते थे जो बिना मुकाबिले चुने जावें। वर्मों सीमीदवारों को भी पिछले चुनाव में काफी रूपया खर्च करना पड़ता था। अब जब कि सारे देश में बालिग मताधिकार होगा तो हर वोटरों की संख्या भी बहुत अधिक वढ़ जायगी, फिर चुनावों में मुकाबिला और संघर्ष भी अधिक होगा, शिक्षा का इतना प्रचार भी नहीं है, हमारे आचार का स्तर भी आज पहले से नीचा है। ऐसी दशा में मुझे भय है कि चुनाव में खड़े होने और सफल होने के लिए प्रचुर धन की आवश्यकता होगी और इस प्रकार बहुत बड़ी सम्भावना इस बात की है कि "निस्वार्थी सेवा ब्रतधारी" उम्मीदवार न न हो कर दूसरे धनो-मानी प्रतिष्ठा व अधिकार के इच्छुक लोग ही कामयाब हों। यह एक विकट समस्या है जिस पर आपको बाल करना है और कोई न-कोई हल दूँ दना जरूरी है।

बहुत लोगों का विचार है कि चुनाव इतने जल्दी २ होते हैं कि सदस्यों का ध्यान वोट और चुनाव में सफल होने का ही रहता सेवा तथा कार्य इस ही दृष्टि से चलते हैं। इसमें भी काफी तथ्य है।

आप सब आज इस तीर्थ पर जो एकत्रित हुए हैं इन्हीं प्रश्नों पर विचार करेंगे और मुझे आशा है कि ऐसे निर्णय कर के उठेंगे हमारा पथ-प्रदर्शन करें और हमें इस नवीन स्वतंत्र देश की जनता को आदेश नागरिक बनाने और उनकी पूरी सेवा करने का उत्साह प्रदान करें।

भाइयो,

भाइयो, यह हमारा परम सौभाग्य है कि आज हमारा पथ-प्रदर्शन करने के लिए हमारे इस महान् अधिवेशन का कार्पोरेशन के भूतपूर्व मेयर श्री आर. के. सिधवा कर रहे हैं। सिधवा साहब की योग्यता और स्थानिक शासन सम्बन्ध के बारे में मुझे अधिक कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। आप २७ वर्ष कराची कार्पोरेशन के सदस्य रहे हैं। भिन्न हासयत से आप कार्पोरेशन के शासन में भाग लिया है। प्रांतीय धारा सभा, ऐसेम्बली व विधान सभा के आप मेयर समय समय पर रह चुके हैं औ आज हमारी पहली आजाद पालियामेंट के आप सदस्य तो हैं ही। आपका विदेशीं का अनुभव व ज्ञान हमारे लिए विशेषतया उपकारी होगा। यह कान्फ्रेंस दरअसल आपके ही प्रोत्साहन व दिग्दर्शन का परिणाम है।

आपके सभापतित्व के अतिरिक्त आज जिनका आशीर्वाद हमारे लिए सब से अधिक लाभप्रद है वे हैं, माननीया राजकुमारी अमृतकौर। यदि आपकी संरक्षण प्राप्त न होती तो हमारा यह सम्मेलन होना ही सम्भव न था। आपने जब से भारत सरकार के स्वास्थ्य-विभाग का कार्य-भार संभाला तभी से आपका ध्यान स्थानिक संस्थाओं के विकास की ओर था। जरा सहूलियत होती ही आप ६, ७ अगस्त सन् १९४८ को दिल्ली में लोकल सैलफ गवर्नरमैट के मन्त्रियों की कान्फ्रेंस बुलाई। यह अपनी तरह की पहली कान्फ्रेंस थी, इससे पहले स्थानिक शासन सम्बन्धी कोई कान्फ्रेंस भारत सरकार ने नहीं बुलाई थी। इस कान्फ्रेंस का उद्घाटन करते हुए प्रधानमन्त्री श्री पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने कहा था :—

“Local self government is and must be the basis of any true system of democracy. We have got rather into the habit of thinking of democracy at the top and not so much below. Democracy at the top may not be a success unless you build on this foundation from below. Take the field of education. Democracy will not be much of a success unless there is mass education in the country, because an un-educated populace, I use the word un-educated in preference to illiterate, is no foundation for democracy. The people must understand the problems to some extent before they can express their views. Therefore education is essential. Local Self government is also essential.”

अथात्,

अथात्, “किसी भी प्रजातंत्र का आधार स्थानीय स्वायत्त शासन है और अवश्य होना चाहिए। हमारी यह आदत पढ़ गई है कि हम प्रजातन्त्रवाद का बड़ी-बड़ी संस्थाओं के सम्बन्ध में तो बहुत ध्यान देते हैं और छोटी तथा बुनयादी बातों में उसको मुला देते हैं, लेकिन यह निश्चय ही है कि प्रजातन्त्र तब तक सफल न होगा जब तक कि हम बुनयादी जड़ को ठीक नहीं बनाते। शिक्षा के द्वेष को ही लीजिये: प्रजातन्त्र यहां कदापि तब तक सफल न होगा जब तक कि जनता में शिक्षा का पूर्ण प्रचार न हो। क्योंकि अशिक्षित जनता, याद रखिये मैं जान-बूझ कर निरक्षर के बजाय “अशिक्षित” शब्द का प्रयोग कर रहा हूं, प्रजातन्त्र का आधार नहीं बनता है। इसलिए योगों को उन समस्याओं को कुछ समझना ही चाहिए जिन पर उनको अपने चिचार प्रकट करने पड़ते हैं। आवश्यक है। स्थानीय स्वायत्त शासन भा परम आवश्यक है।”

इस कांफ्रेंस की अध्यक्षा स्वयं राजकुमारी जी थीं। इसमें स्थानिक संस्थाओं सम्बंधी अनेकों संवाद पर हुए। इस ही सम्मेलन के फलस्वरूप आपने लोकल फाइनेंस इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बैठाई जो अपना काम लगभग समाप्त कर दिया। इस प्रकार शुरू से ही आप म्युनिसिपल कमेटियों के सम्बन्ध में बड़ी दिलचस्पी लेती रही हैं। आपकी इस विशेष दिलचस्पी की ही हमें साहस हुआ, कि हम इस कांफ्रेंस के उद्घाटन की प्राथना आप से कर सके। आपने आज हमारी प्रार्थना स्वीकार कर यहां पधार कर इस कांफ्रेंस को जो आशातीत सफलता दी है उसके लिए हम आपके अत्यन्त आभारी हैं।

माननीया राज कुमारी जी,

यहा पधार कर इस कानून से जीवन का अद्वितीय अनुभव हो गया। यहा माननीय राज कुमारी जी, आपने, लोकल मिनिस्टर्स कॉफेंस में इस बात पर खेद प्रकट करते हुए कि कुछ स्थानीय संस्थाओं के कारोबार इतना नीचा था कि उनमें सरकारी हस्ताक्षेप हुआ, यह इच्छा प्रकट की थी कि स्वीजरलैंड और इंगलैंड की तरह दवां बॉडीज भी अबल दर्जे की शासन संस्थायें बनें। हम भी आज वही भावना ले कर उस ही उद्देश्य से यहाँ इकठ्ठे हुए हैं और आपके वेल एक रसी उद्घाटन की ही प्रार्थना नहीं कर रहे हैं वलिक हम आशा करते हैं कि आप हमें वह उपदेश देंगी जिसे हम आपने नागरिक बन कर अपनी संस्थाओं को भी उच्च आदर्श बाली बना सकें। हमें पूरी आशा है कि आपका उपदेश और आपने कर यह सम्मेलन सफल होगा और ऐसे निर्णय कर सकेगा जिससे आपका भारत में अबल दर्जे की आदर्श स्थापित कर देखने का स्वप्न पूरा होगा।

इसलिए अब अधिक समय न ले कर मैं आपसे इस सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन करना और इसने प्रदर्शन करने की त्रिनीत प्रार्थना करता हूँ।

युद्धवीरानि
स्वागताध्यक्ष

स्वागत गान

रचयिता—श्री दीनानाथ भार्गव 'दिनेश'

अभिनन्दन बन्दन सौ सौ बार,
दिल्ली के प्राङ्गण में गूंजे भारत का जयकार ।

आज आप का स्वागत करती, मूक हृदय की भाषा ।
जन जन में उमड़ी है, उन्नत जीवन की अभिलाषा ॥
नगर नगर सुन्दरता पाये, देश स्वास्थ्य सुख से भर जाये ।
निर्मल तन मन सादा जीवन, उज्ज्वल उच्च विचार ॥

अभिनन्दन बन्दन सौ सौ बार,
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मले नागरिक बनें हमारे, मुक्त देश के वासी ।
गैरवशाली जीवन जीयें, काटें क्लेश उदासी ॥
सब सब के हों एक हृदय हों, प्रान्त भेद अपवाद विलय हों ।
विनयवान हों हम महान हों, निर्भय निपुण उदार ॥

अभिनन्दन बन्दन सौ सौ बार,
दिल्ली के प्राङ्गण में गूंजे भारत का जयकार ॥२॥

नगर सभा तेवा शासन की, सक्रिय शिक्षाशाला ।
है यह वह टक्साल कि जिसने, नेताओं को ढाला ॥
निरुपम विर्ध नव नव अनुभव की, नीति नियन्त्रण राज विभव की ।
इस पथ से ही चले जवाहर, श्री पटेल सरदार ॥

अभिनन्दन बन्दन सौ सौ बार,
दिल्ली के प्राङ्गण में गूंजे भारत का जयकार ॥३॥

नगर पालिका सभा सत्य शिव सुन्दर भाव बनावे ।
जागे देश 'दिनेश' विश्व में, सर्वोदय हो जावे ।
भूमि संस्कृति जन विकास हो, ललित कलाओं का प्रकाश हो ।
सफल ज्ञान का विमल शान का, खोलो तोरण द्वार ॥

अभिनन्दन बन्दन सौ सौ बार,
दिल्ली के प्राङ्गण में गूंजे भारत का जयकार ॥४॥

[एम. वी. गलसे स्कूल, कश्मीरी गेट, दिल्ली द्वारा गाया ।]

MESSAGE OF THE
HON'BLE SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL,
Deputy Prime Minister of India
TO THE
All-India Local Bodies Conference.

I REGRET that my health does not permit me to attend the All-India Local Bodies Conference in person. I send, however, my best wishes for the success of their deliberations.

Having had experience of the local affairs of a Municipality which bids fair to be one of the most important in the country, I know the difficulties and problems which confront those who have been entrusted by the Electorate with the responsibility for running these nurseries of Democracy and Self-Government. I can, therefore, claim to speak as one of you and to give you advice in full knowledge and experience of the facts and conditions in which you have to work.

At a time when people are becoming conscious too much of fundamental rights and too little of fundamental duties, it is up to you all to practise and to preach in your intimate circles and before men and women with whom you come daily into contact the elementary responsibilities and duties of civic life. self-help, as far as possible, and co-operative endeavour, where necessary, are the key-note of citizenship. A true citizen is he who can do as much as he can and leave as little as possible to others instead of depending on others to help him out of every conceivable difficult situation. In the sphere of co-operative endeavour, the citizen must naturally look to the City Fathers or his representatives in the District Boards to minister to his needs. In this sphere also, however, it is personal exertion rather than verbal discussions which bring forth positive results. No detail of Municipal or Local Board administration should escape the notice of their members. Corporate life, instead of ~~individual~~, should be the governing factor in their attitude. I realize that there are many limitations to the functioning of these bodies but before you ask for monetary authorities, which, you must realise, are functioning within similar limitations, you have to satisfy yourself whether you are getting the best return from every pie of the tax-payer's money of which you are custodians. If you can eliminate waste to the maximum extent possible and get the best out of every rupee that you spend, you can look the whole world in the face and your demands for financial help would, I am sure, evoke better response in that they would be irresistible.

Let me also say a word about the Municipal and Local Board Services. They are the executive arm of the representatives of the people. While the Chairman and Members of the Local Bodies must take responsibility for the consequences of their conduct or share the credit for the healthy and benevolent results which flow from their efforts, it is upto the staff to act in the true spirit of service. Their security and contentment must be the concern of the representatives of the people as much as it must be their endeavour to promote among the staff a proper sense of discipline and an impersonal approach to their functioning. The staff should never become the plaything of party politics in the same way as party politics should not be the concern of the staff.

As I have said on more than one occasion, I have spent the best years of my life working for the citizens of Ahmedabad. Never has something attempted, something done, given me a better man's repose than when I was performing those pleasant and absorbing functions. Let that be your consolation and your reward when you are faced with disappointments or frustration in attaining bigger objectives. Let that also be your urge for more and more efforts in the service of your people.

Camp : Bombay,
13-12-1950.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

PROCLAMATION

O F

SHREEMAN Inder MAHINDER RAJRAJESHWAR MAHARAJADHIRAJ SHREE HARISINGHJI RULER OF
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
A N D
D E P E N D E C I E S.

5.3.1948
23rd year
Reign'

THIS DAY OF FIFTH MARCH ONE THOUSAND NINEHUNDRED AND FORTY EIGHT, IN THE
TWENTY THIRD YEAR OF MY REIGN.

In accordance with the traditions of my dynasty I have from time to time provided for increasing association of my people with the administration of the State with the object of realising the goal of full responsible government as early a date as possible and in pursuance of that object have, by the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act of 1996 (XIV of 1996) established a constitutional Government with a Council of Ministers, a Legislature with a majority of elected members and an independent Judiciary;

I have noted with gratification and pride the progress so far made and the legitimate desire of my people for the immediate establishment of a fully democratic constitution based on adult franchise with a hereditary Ruler from my dynasty as the constitutional head of an Executive responsible to the Legislature

I have already appointed the popular leader of my people Sheikh Mohd Abd as the Head of the Emergency Administration.

It is now my desire to replace the Emergency Administration by a popular Interim Govt. and to provide for its powers, duties and functions, pending the formation of a fully democratic Constitution;

I accordingly HEREBY ORDAIN AS FOLLOWS : -

1. My Council of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers as may be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister. I have by Royal Warrant appointed Sheikh Mohd Abdullah as the Prime Minister with effect from to-day.

2. The Prime Minister and other Ministers shall function as a Cabinet and act on the principle of joint responsibility. A Dewan appointed by me shall also be member of the Cabinet.

3. I take this opportunity of giving once again a solemn assurance that all sections of my people will have opportunities of service, both civil and military, solely on the basis of their merits and irrespective of creed or community.

4. My Council of Ministers shall take appropriate steps, as soon as restoration of normal conditions has been completed, to convene a National Assembly based upon Adult Suffrage, having the regard to the principle that the number of the representatives from each voting area should, as far as practicable, be proportional to the population of that area.

5. The Constitution to be framed by the National Assembly shall provide adequate safeguards for the minorities and contain appropriate provisions guaranteeing freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

6. The National Assembly shall, as soon as the work of framing the new Constitution is completed, submit it through the Council of Ministers for my acceptance.

7. In conclusion I repeat the hope that the formation of a popular Interim Govt., and the inauguration, in the near future, of a fully democratic Constitution will ensure the contentment, happiness and the moral and material advancement of my beloved people.

Sd. Harisingh.
MAHARAJADHIRAJ.